

University of Bombay

GUJARÂTÎ LANGUAGE
AND
LITERATURE

VOL II

BEING THE
WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES
DELIVERED BY
N. B. DIVATIĀ, B. A. (BOMBAY)

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TO
MY REVERED *GURU*
SIR RAMAKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, K.C.S.I.
M. A., PH. D., LL. D.
HON. M. R. A. S.
I DEDICATE
WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION
THIS HUMBLE WORK
THE FRUIT OF STUDIES INSPIRED BY HIS TEACHING

PREFACE.

Just a few words of explanation. These Lectures were delivered in 1915-16 A. D. The first Volume was published in 1921 A. D. In the preface to it I stated that the second Volume would be out twelve months later. This expectation could not be realized all these years. The second volume appears after a very long interval,—nearly a decade. All this delay was due to a number of causes, delay in the press, my continued indifferent health and other unexpected hindrances. I am aware that no inconvenience was likely to accrue by this prolongation of time, except to some University students and persons looking forward to, and from time to time inquiring after, the probable publication. My apologies are due to them, which I offer here sincerely. But I can also mention certain compensations in the form of important additions and alterations and revision made subsequent to 1915 A. D. which I trust will be found useful, although occasionally introducing anachronisms in a way.

With these words of explanation, I place before my appreciative readers the fruits of my labours extending over four decades and more.

"Dilkhush" Bungalow }
Santa Cruz, }
1931 }

N. B. DIVATIA

INTRODUCTION

TO

GUJARATI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

VOLUMES I & II

The greater portion of these Lectures of mine deal with Gujarati language as distinct from Gujarati literature, and that too with the physical side of language and not its metaphysical side. For philology is mainly concerned with the physical constitution of language. It is rarely that its metaphysical aspect steps in; thus, for instance, when the two evolutes of ગોરી viz. ગોરી and ગોરિય are restricted in sense to particular denotation, the former meaning "fair in complexion" and the latter meaning "a particular deity" or, when we read the sense of "a hand" in હાથ (traced back to હાથ-હસ્ત) and that of "a handle" in હાથો (traced back to હાથ-હસ્ત), the morphological evolution gets intertwined with the sense of words that lies beyond their physical formation. This being so, we are concerned with Gujarati language in its place in the field of philology. There was a time when people questioned, and perhaps even now some persons may question, the title of Gujarati language to be treated philologically. The present lectures, it is hoped, will furnish an adequate answer to such questioning.

We may, therefore, at the outset inquire into the nature and functions of philology. Philology, then, may be concisely defined as the science of language. It deals with the origin and gradual evolution of language. It will be necessary therefore first to know what language means. Language may be defined as the articulate expression of human thought by means of human speech. This definition will at once exclude on the one hand, the various modes of feeble expression observed in the case of animals, and, on the other, the inarticulate sounds used by man, otherwise than with the desire of expressing thoughts. The so-called monkey language alleged to have been discovered, investigated and used by a traveller, could never in reality have been language in the true sense of the word, for the double reason that it was neither articulate in sound nor

articulate in sense. The sounds for which sense was claimed were crude and vague, and the sense did not go beyond the most primary feelings and it never reached the stage of categorical thinking which Sweet appositely terms¹ logical articulation it represented at best a most undeveloped state of intelligence.

Our definition of language will also exclude loose and metaphorical expressions like the language of natural scenery or speechless expression of various grades and shades of human feelings. People are in the habit of saying how eloquently a rose speaks to you when all that is meant is that it affects your imagination, memory and some other faculty in an appealing way so as to wake up peculiar associations, and suggests original reflections. When the poet said that to him "the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears" he was within the bounds of a poet's privilege without trenching on the precincts of logical thought expression. And when he reads 'books in running brooks and sermons in stones' he does not claim for them any language in its scientific sense, but only a power of suggestiveness expressed only in metaphorical brevity and pithiness. Philology discards all such flowery expressions and assumes the role of a heartless, dry-as-dust, investigator.

In my definition of language I have confined its scope to thought, and on set purpose excluded feeling. For feeling *per se* cannot be the subject of language as a science and in so far as feelings can form the subject of linguistic expression they properly and strictly belong to the sphere of thought. For instance, you may be able to express love, hate and various other feelings without the aid of language, but as soon as you wish to express the underlying ideas of those feelings they come within the province of thought in such shape as "love", "hate" and similar expressions. Language cannot express feelings as such but only our ideas of feelings.

1 'The History of Language' p. 2 Sweet goes the length of saying, that the human interjections, though representing an idea, or even a sentence, are not logical articulations. I am afraid he ignores the function of व्यञ्जना in words.

Generally speaking, the expression of one's thoughts presupposes or requires for their reception some person or persons other than the party expressing them. *Language presupposes social surrounding.*

If we accept this condition, soliloquy would be excluded from the scope of language. For language is the vehicle for conveying or communicating human thought, and conveyance or communication necessarily implies an opposite party, a correlation between the speaker and the spoken to. However, in as much as soliloquy is capable of reduction to linguistic form and also capable of being understood definitely, and in so far as it amounts to thinking aloud i. e. clothing one's thoughts in words which are an expression of thought, we may justify the inclusion of soliloquy under the purview of the term language by resorting to the reasonable fiction that the other party in this case is a projection of one's self self speaking to self, the one is thinker, the other the addressed. For the rest, the social instinct of man is one of the chief conditions under which language must have arisen. Man is an intelligent and sentient being, and neither his intellectual activity nor his emotional changes can remain suppressed, they will call for a way out. Self expression is an inevitable human function. Just as feeling seeks out its expression by means of gestures, gesticulations, facial changes, tender caresses and the like, even so human thought, in its progress toward expression beginning with gestures, signs and symbols found eventually the most successful mode of escape and conveyance in what we know as language proper. It may be an inadequate vehicle hitherto possessed by man. This thought-expression, as just now observed, supposes the existence of a social surrounding, soliloquy being only an exceptional aspect of self expression.

Thus may lead us into two opposite theories regarding the origin of language, - the spontaneous theory and the theory of convention. *Two theories about language Spontaneity and Convention.* While, on the one hand, it is inconceivable how the several words in a language could have been devised for the expression of the inherent ideas by the mere spontaneous process of the human will, it is, on the other hand

equally difficult to imagine a social group of men sitting in solemn conclave and assigning individual names to individual objects and thoughts observed and conceived by them. The description of Adam in the "Paradise Lost," giving a word name to each animal passing in a sort of a *levee* procession, may at the first glance appear something like a ludicrous proceeding. But we are able to read into it the essence of the spontaneous theory of the origin of language. The fault of arbitrary assignment of meaning can be laid at the door of the convention theory equally with the spontaneous theory. And after all why should it be called a fault? At some original date or other name-giving must have been on arbitrary process more or less. As a child of hardly ten years of age once remarked to her father, "Is not language merely a matter of guess-work (गप्यो)?" "What do you mean?" asked the father. The child explained "Here is a गाय (cow), for instance, when men called it by that name in the beginning, what did they do but make a mere shot? (गप ज मारी कनी ?)." Perhaps a compromise between the spontaneous and convention theories is likely to hit the mark. It is probable that in the beginning the force of associations, assisted by the powers of imagination and invention, as also a certain amount of involuntary expressions by individual men, gave rise to words which were instinctively understood by other men and at once accepted by them and they gradually passed into currency, which is a form of convention.

Dr H. Muthmann² accounts for the origin of language in the following manner —

"Speech must be explained as born out of man's psyche, by a slow and complicated yet subconscious process. The primary cause of language-making is a desire for communication, the same that gives rise to the calls and warning signals of animals and the songs of birds. Just as there are certain natural gestures and facial expressions common to all members of a community readily practised and

² Article contributed by him to Jack's "Self-Educator," edited by H. O. O'Neill, pp. 86 ff.

understood by all, so there exist certain natural sounds and combinations of sounds used for the purpose of communicating one's sensations and thoughts. These man has in common with many animals. But a great step in advance which separated human from animal speech, was made when these original and natural tones were conventionalized, when their use and application were extended to objects and actions connected though not identical with the idea or sensations originally described."

Here is a synthesis of the two theories—spontaneity and convention—regarding the origin of language. Incidentally with reference to the question of a desire for communication, I may point out that silent face and eye expression are very often more powerful than speech, as in the case of love, joy, grief, etc. Sometimes gestures like dancing and jumping symbolize this concentrated power. Similarly inarticulate sounds are more expressive than speech, e. g. kiss-sound, the cooing intonation of human lovers, the moaning and crying of persons in pain or grief. These or most of them are shared by man and animal in common, for they constitute synthetic phenomena. When, however, it comes to the stage of analytic phenomena, thought-expression, even synthesis finally bursting out into analysis, then comes the power of language and its true function. e. g. when the cooing lover says 'Oh! How I love you.' What is lost in synthesis is gained in analysis and vice versa. The balance of gain and loss varies according to circumstances.

We need not go into several other theories such as the *bow-wow* theory of language, the *ding-dong* theory, the *pooh-pooh* theory and the like, but we may just touch the *Yeh-heh* theory finally adopted by Max Muller who explained that "under any strong muscular effort and, one might add, intellectual and emotional strain it is a relief to the system to let breath come out strongly and repeatedly. When primitive acts were performed in common they would naturally be accompanied by the same sounds, which

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Various other theories of the origin of language

easily become associated with the action performed, and serve as a 'root' to denote it'

Dr Mutschmann observes on this -All this is hardly satisfactory, but before leaving this interesting subject it might be well to quote the words of a more recent scholar, Prof Jesperson, who sums up his treatise on the origin of language, as follows -

"The genesis of language is not to be sought in the prosaic, but in the poetic side of life, the source of speech is not gloomy seriousness, but merry play and youthful hilarity in primitive speech I hear the laughing cries of exultation when lads and lasses vied with one another, to attract the attention of the other sex, when every body sang his merriest and danced his bravest to lure a pair of eyes to throw admiring glances in his direction Language was born in the courting days of mankind, the first utterances of speech, I fancy to myself like something between the mighty love lyrics of puss upon the tiles and the melodious songs of the nightingale"

We all know that the notes of singing birds, and all other notes and sounds among the animal world, are but sex-calls to the mate This idea and Max Muller's concluding theory quoted just above carries us to a still more unique theory advanced by another philologist, H Sperber (Upsala), who states "Sexual needs have played the largest part in the origin and development of languages The first sounds served as means of communication, and called the sexual partner, the further development of the roots of a speech accompanied the performance of the primitive man's work This work was communal and progressed to the accompaniment of rhythmically repeated word sounds In that way a sexual interest was transferred to the work The primitive man made work acceptable at the same time that he used it as an equivalent and substitute for sex-activity The word thus called forth by the common labour had two meanings, designating the sex-act as well as the equivalent labor-activity In time the word became developed from its sexual

significance and became fixed on this work. Generations later the same thing happened to a new word that once had sexual significance and came to be used for a new type of work. In this manner a number of word roots were formed, all of sexual origin, and all of which had lost their sexual significance' ³

It will be easily seen that all these various theories, when not fanciful, are really one-sided and halting. They explain only a phase of speech effort. In none of the theories are the synthetic and analytic phases duly examined or properly separated and correlated. Nor is the link between them discovered. Only He can conceive the whole nature of language of whom it is truly said

यतोवाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह

There is one aspect of language of which no note is taken in any of the views hitherto discussed above. It pertains to the complicated question whether the words in a sentence express individual and disconnected ideas and objects primarily, leaving the connecting thread of syntax for a secondary expression, or whether the syntactical idea of the sentence as a whole is expressed primarily and individual objects and ideas come out secondarily. A good deal depends on the proper solution of this question in the determination of the origin of words in a language. Dr William Wallace in his *Prolegomena to the study of Hegel's Philosophy* deals with this point thus

"Investigation of primitive language seems to show that words as we know them in separate existence are a secondary formation, and that the first significant speech was an utterance intended to describe a scene, an action, a phenomenon, or complex of events.

"When disintegration begins the result is as follows— The elements of the group, having now become independent words held

3. "General Introduction to Psycho-analysis" by Prof. Sigmund Freud p 133.

together by the syntax of the sentence, are adopted to denote the several objects which entered into the total phenomenon "

Here is an attempt at a synthesis of the two theories well-known in our Mīmāṃsā philosophy, viz अन्विताभिधानवाद and अभिहितान्वयवाद. From our point of view it is clear that these two theories pertain to a scrutiny of the interpretation of a sentence and its components rather than an inquiry into the primary source of words, the origin of language. We may therefore leave this psychological inquiry aside.

We leave the subject of language as an independent item, and come to philology in its restricted sphere. It, especially comparative philology, is a science of relatively recent date. It was practically unknown in ancient India. In those times free interchange of linguistic or literary activity with outsiders was shut out. Stray references to the Parthians and Persians, e.g. in the text पृथुपथे in Rig Veda, VII-83, or the Greek contact during the five centuries before Christ indicate mere occasional contact, not any free intercourse such as could awaken the philological sense. Nor could an occasionally stray reference like that in Kātyāyana's *śāstrīya* on Panini IV: 49 (यवनलिप्याम्) to the Greek script (यवनानी) which, no doubt shows that in the 8th Century B.C. (Panini's date) or at least in the fourth century B.C. (Kātyāyana's date) India was familiar with this foreign script, justify a sudden conclusion that philology was a known or cultivated science then,—I mean comparative philology particularly, for the forms of isolated philology can be discovered in the attempts at derivation of words made by Yāska. Dr R. G. Bhāndarkar, (Lectures pp 4-5), no doubt credits the Black Yajurveda and the Brahmanas with linguistic study and the investigations into the relation between Sanskrit and Prakrit in our Prakrit grammars are a distinct advance towards one branch of philology. But Comparative Philology must, after all, be a limited as a science of relatively recent date.

4 Goldstücker (*Pāṇini*, pp 16-17) holds that the word यवनानी refers, not to the Greek script but, to the Persian script, or, probably, to the cuneiform writing.

The application of the principles of Comparative Philology to Indian Vernaculars is of a still more recent

The place of Indian Vernaculars in Comparative Philology

date, one of the earliest workers in this field being Mr. Beames. With him and since his times may be mentioned the names of Dr. Hoernle, Sir George Grierson, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhândárkar,

H. H. Dhruva, Sâstri Vrajalâl Kâlidâsa, and others, to which list must be added the name of the late Dr. Tessitori, a scholar of eminence and ability who made Gujarâti and Mârâi his special study. For a fuller mention of other workers in this field Dr. Sir R. G. Bhândârkar's Lectures, pp. 4-7 may be referred to.

Comparative Philology necessarily implies a method of inquiry

European and Indian Scholars their qualifications for dealing with the philology of the Vernaculars

which requires an examination of the relation between different human languages, the principles which affect their evolution individually and the deduction of principles of general application. This method naturally presupposes a critical basis for its working. Conclusions must be arrived at on data of proved value, and

verified by recognized canons of logical evidence. And yet too often do we find errors in the conclusions of philologists, due sometimes to prejudice, sometimes to one-sided vision and sometimes to preconceived notions. I need not cite instances. I have occasionally dealt with some of them in the course of these lectures.

This consideration leads to the interesting question of the relative position of Indian scholars and European philologists in the matter of the philological investigations into Indian Vernaculars. Both sides possess advantages and disadvantages which grow out of their peculiar position and outlook. J. D. Anderson in one of his articles tells us

"Mr. Beames' example shows that foreigners can render good service by calling attention to matters which escape the notice of natives from sheer familiarity⁵."

5. "Mr. Rabindranâth Tagore's Notes on Bengali Grammar", J. R., A. S., 1913, p. 542

This claim for Mr Beames work has certain limitations, which will be visible in my discussions in the present Lectures where I have discussed his theories and views in various connections. I make this statement with a full and grateful recognition of the services rendered by that profound scholar. On the other hand, I may quote another portion from the same article of J. D. Anderson

'Mr Tagore recognizes that in the phonetics, grammar and etymology of Indian Languages is a field of inquiry in which Indians and Europeans can be of use to one another. The European brings to the study some experience of comparative methods, some knowledge of the new means of recording phonetic facts now in use in Europe. The Indian can investigate and state the elusive realities of his own speech with an authority which no foreigner can claim.'

These remarks can be illustrated by the error into which Śāstri Vrajālal Kalidasa has run with regard to the derivations of *वसतु*, *वाप*⁷ and other words on the one hand, and that into which Dr Sten Konow has run with regard to the cause for the symbol *व्य* in *व्याकरण*,⁸ on the other.

The science of philology is primarily concerned with the physical aspect of language. The nature of different sounds, their classification, their evolution in the course of the history of words, these and such matters form the subject of inquiry for this science. It has very little to do with the psychological side of language. Sweet draws attention to the duality of form and meaning constituting respectively the *formal* and the *logical* (or psychological) side of language. He says

"Although language is inconceivable without this polarity of form and meaning it is often convenient and even necessary to look at language from more or less one-sidedly formal or logical point of view as the case may be. The study of the formal side of language

6 Ibid n 5, p 9

7 See pp 83, and 337 n. 145 of the 1st Volume of these Lectures

8 See pp. 345-346 of same

is based on phonetics,—science of speech-sounds, the study of the logical side of language is based on *psychology* the science of mind '9

We are at once reminded by the above extract, especially

The two sides inseparable and yet separable in philology.

Sweet's assertion that language is inconceivable without the polarity of form and meaning,—we are reminded by this, of the immortal words of Kālidāsa in which he compares the close union between Pārvatī and Śiva to that between

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वाग्धांविदं संवृद्धौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

But, as just observed, philology has to perform the surgical operation of separating the two aspects of language and dealing almost entirely with its formal aspect. It confines its investigation to word formations in which thought lies clothed. For instance, philology, in its examination of the several steps through which the word *वर्ति* passed,—*वृत्ति*, *वृद्धि*, *वृत्*, *वृ*, *वृत्*, *वृत्ति*, does not for a moment concern itself with the idea of the fruit which the word signifies, or, when it compares Skr *पितृ-मातृ* with Lat. *Pater-Mater*, Persian *pīdar-mālar*, Eng *father-mother*, etc., it does not think of the domestic or natural relations which the ideas underlying the words deal with, its whole gaze is fixed on the sound formations which characterize the physical evolution of the words concerned. I have, in my opening remarks already recognized the existence of exceptional conditions, such as in the case of *गौरी-गोरी*, *गर्ग्य* *हस्त-हाथ*, *हस्तक-हाथो*, where the variation in meaning results from the formal aspect of the words.

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The scheme of these Lectures, some special features of Gujarātī.

in its relation to comparative philology and internal evolution. The scheme adopted is to lay down certain *utsargas* which govern that evolution and incidentally to discuss certain special features in the language which mark its

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in its relation to comparative philology and internal evolution. The scheme adopted is to lay down certain *utsargas* which govern that evolution and incidentally to discuss certain special features in the language which mark its

individuality, of these the most noteworthy are (1) the Sanskrit and Prakrit sounds of च, छ, ज, झ, (pp 340-359 Vol 1), (2) the wide sound of ए and ओ (pp 129 to 187-Vol I), and (3) the recognition of, and the regulated position of इकार in a class of words hitherto unrecognized by orthodox opinion (pp 283 to 316 Vol. I). The two sounds of इ and ए, strong and weak, are also dealt with for the first time, they exist in the language but are ignored by the orthodox school. An instance will show the actual state of things a child of six, quite unsophisticated by phonetic "heresies", once observed, "—भाई तो दा कदे छे" (इ pronounced as strong), 'हुँ तो दा कहुँ छुँ' (इ pronounced weak)' The child observed and noted the difference between the strong and the weak इकार, and recognized the presence of the latter as the true sound. A child's instincts furnish a sure test in such cases. The same child noted the Gujarāṭī sound of फ as distinguished from the English or Persian sound of f remarking, as before "I say फखुँ" (Guj फ), he says फखुँ" (foreign f) " My point is that these peculiarities are not artificial superimpositions but come natural to the unsophisticated child's observation and practice

In the course of my discussions, I have occasionally entered into long diversions as in the case of the origin of छे (pp 248 to 264 of Vol. I), the शान्त अकार (pp 206 to 214 Vol I), and the peculiar feature in the word युफा (where the pure aspirate of युफ reverts to the class aspirate फ),—(pp, 299-307 of Vol. I). The last mentioned view is placed before scholars with a certain diffidence and deference, being a view presented for the first time in comparative Philology.

In the course of my preliminary remarks in Lecture III, I have

*Condition requi-
site for laying
down utsargas in
phonetics*

stressed the necessity in the case of philology of limiting the condition insisted on by physical sciences for purposes of induction,—the condition, namely, that a sufficiently large number of instances must be present for establishing a particular theory, and (pp 88-89) cited as exceptions the cases of

A noteworthy exception the derivation of 'Surat.'*

सूर्य and सूरज. These are extreme cases of exception, having only one or two available instances. That being so, latitude can be claimed

for *utsarga* which cover a limited number of instances, e. g. the one about the change of ज to त (p. 463 Vol I) which has only three instances for Gujarātī. However, I believe, it will be possible to add to instances even in such cases by diligent discovery or accidental inspiration. Thus, in the case of this very *utsarga* (change of ज to त) a very interesting addition can be made, interesting philologically and historically, the historical side lending weight to the philological one. I mean the word सूरत, the name of the well-known city of Sūrat. It can be derived thus सूर्यपुर-सूरजपुर-सूरत(पुर)-सूरत. This has an illuminating story beneath it. The river Tāptī, (Taptī), is known as Tapatī (तपती) in Khandesh District where it skirts the northern boundary of Akrānti portion of Nandurbar Taluka, though it is known as Tāptī in Sūrat which stands on its bank. Thus Topatī is the name of the daughter of the Sun-God, as the *Mahābhārata* tells us. On the bank of the river, opposite to Sūrat is the village of Rander, which seems to be derived from Rannade, Rannā-devī, Rājñī devī (the wife of the Sun-God). Thus we have the city of the Sun-God, the goddess Rannādevī (represented by the village, Rānder), and between the two runs their daughter, Tapatī. Thus by the derivation of सूरत from सूरज the *utsarga* about the change of ज to त stands vindicated.¹⁰

The treatment in these Volumes consists of laying down and illustrating certain *utsargas* which govern the formations of Gujarātī words in their journey from Apabhramśa, through post-Apabhramśa (called O. W. Rājasthānī by Dr. Teggiani and

Antiquity of the principles underlying some utsargas

10 I owe this theory about सूर्यपुर, तपती and रणदे to a friend who was assisting in the compilation of the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, years ago. This derivation, सूर्यपुर, is mentioned in the Gazetteer of the Surat District, but the full significance given above does not find a place there.

which I designate by the name of Gūjara Apabhramśa) This being the main feature, the Sanskrit originals come in simply to mark the primary source Occasionally, however, I have noted the operation of certain *utsargas*, or their underlying principles in Sanskrit or sometimes as far back as the Vedic stage Thus the Prakrit sound of the palatals already referred to above in a different connection, can be traced back to *उन्दस्* which, by its dento-palatal sound of *उ* connects itself with *ॠन्द* *यास्* which in Avesta, is *यास्*, and so forth (See p. 348 n. 114 in Vol I) Again, I have hinted at the possible working of the combined process of apheresis and aphesis in *पूप* as a word later than *अपूप* (p. 373, Vol I). I would add the reference (at pp. 470-471 of Vol I) to the weak *anusvāra* (a noticeable Apabhramśa and Gujarati feature) tracing itself back to the Vedic *रंगा*, e. g. *खे अरौ* in Rigveda VIII-77-3, which are likened in the *Paṇinīya Sūtrā* to the sound of the *anusvāra* in *तत्र* uttered by the woman-seller of whey in Soratha The *sūtra* ॐ, Pāṇini I-1-18, and also VIII-1-57 which recognizes *दधि* with a weak *anusvāra*, point to this feature in later Sanskrit

All this points to the eternal Prākṛitization which went on since the earliest times, and was mainly the result of the mingling of the Āryans with non-Āryan races in India That this Prākṛitization is but a natural process may be aptly illustrated by a single case of a child of six or seven who when I asked her to repeat the line *नव भीरस्य त्वमेव तद्विष राधे गृह प्रापय* pronounced *गृहं* instantly as *परं* All the intervening phonetic processes between the Sanskrit and Gujarati words (*गृह* and *पर*), viz (1) the change of *ऋ* to *अ*, (2) the shifting of the *र* to the first syllable in the word, and (3) the fusion of *गृ* and *अ* into *पृ* had their operation simultaneously in the child's mouth, quite as a synthetic process No wonder that Hemachandra accepted this synthetic process by bodily giving *पर* as a ready-made *śloka* of *गृह* in his *sūtra* *गृहस्य परोऽपनी* || VIII-11-144

Of course, I am so far speaking about the philological portion of these lectures, which is the bulk portion. The introductory historical portion, and the lectures on Gujarātī literature comprizo the adjective part of this work, and need no extra mention. There is one question connected

with the internal economy of these volumes which calls for an explanation, viz. the use of the *Nāgarī* script for the Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarātī words and quotations. In a luminous and judicial article on "Transliteration vs. Indian Scripts" by J. D. Anderson (Modern Review, December 1918, pp. 567 ff.) he favors Indian scripts as beautiful, complete in alphabet, scientific in arrangement. But he finds one defect, he says the uninitial vowel, especially अ, is unexhibited, and there is the difficulty of showing the component parts of words, e g अनेक, here *an e/a* would, according to him, be clearer. He suggests a compromise as under—

- (a) Keep the indigenous script and spelling of each language for its literature—

but—

- (b) For routine or erudition-as dictionary making grammar-writing and philology transliteration into the Roman script should be adopted. For this he recommends the use of the script of the International Phonetic Association.

For this (b) his argument is that it tends to clearness and accuracy of thought and exposition, clearness of thought and speech and writing, small matters in themselves, but a step in the direction of that utter honesty of thought and statement which is the very basis of what we call science

Well, I have not found it convenient to follow the transliteration idea for diverse reasons. For one thing, the *Nāgarī* script is perfect in its expressiveness and compactness, no symbol is without

its function, and except only in rare instances (for vernacular peculiarities as in the case of the ultra-cerebral उ-उ and the wide ए and ओ) calls for no diacritical marks, and above all it is less confusing owing to its synthetic form.

N E DIVATIA.

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WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES

ON

GUJARÂTÎ LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

LECTURE V.

History of the Gujarâtî Language

1st Evolution.

(Continued)

In the last lecture, in sections I, II, and III, I placed before you the evolution of the Gujarâtî language in its phonetic and morphological aspect. I propose now to deal with the evolution of Gujarâtî from another point of view; viz. its historical progress, as disclosed by tests supplied by the phonetic and morphological conditions, in short, the stages which the language passed through as indicated by certain distinctive features marking its development.

Before entering upon this examination it will be profitable to glance at the state of the language that prevailed in Gujarât before Gujarâtî assumed a distinctive shape, and the views held by others regarding the speech spoken in that country in their days. The well-known stanza¹ in the *Vikramânkadeva Charita* which ridicules the language of the

State of the language prevalent in Gujarat in the eleventh century A. D.

1 कक्षान्ध विदधति न ये सर्वदेवाविशुद्धा

एन्दभाषन्ते किमपि भजते यद् जुगुप्सारपदत्वम् ।

तेषां मार्गे परिचयवशाद्वर्जितं गुर्जराणां

यः सतापं शिथिलमकरोत् सोमनाथं विलोकय ॥

The remark, कक्षान्ध etc., does not refer to the contrast between the dress of the Dakhanî women and Gujarâtî women, but to the tucking up of the *dhotar* common in men of Northern India as contrasted with the loose *dhotar* worn by men in Gujarât, for no specific mention is made of females here.

Gurjaras will show what Bilhana, an outsider, thought of the language spoken by the people of Gujārāt in the latter half of the eleventh² century. This was when the Chālnūye Karna, father of Siddharāja Jayasinha, ruled over Gujārāt. We know the language then spoken was certainly not our modern Gujarātī, nor the early Gujarātī known between Bhalana's and Premānanda's times. The language disclosed by the Mṅgdbhārabodha Aukhika (V. S. 1450)

Apabhramśa had ceased to be a spoken language by the first half of the eleventh century A. D.

had not developed then yet. Was it the Apabhramśa treated by Hemachandra in the last Pāda of his Prākṛit Grammar? I should think not. Dr. Tessitori is of the opinion³ that the Apabhramśa treated by Hemachandra had ceased

to be a spoken language by the end of the tenth century A. D. He seems to be approximately right in this view. For, if Hemachandra dealt with a language that had ceased to be spoken, the very fact would require a gap of about one century between the language and the Grammar, and as Hemachandra flourished in the twelfth century A. D. (1088 A. D. to 1172 A. D.⁴) we may safely

Internal evidence that Hemachandra's grammar dealt with Apabhramśa as a dead language.

put the limit a little later than Dr. Tessitori puts it, and say the first half of the eleventh century A. D. saw the extinction of the Apabhramśa of Hemachandra's grammar. We

have internal evidence to support the view that Hemachandra was dealing, in his grammar, with a language that was not of the people, not of his time. In his gloss on sūtra VIII-ii-174 he says.—

भाषाशब्दाश्च । आदिच्छ । ललक । विहिर × × × × इत्यादयो महाराष्ट्र-
विदर्भादिदेशप्रसिद्धा लोकोक्तोऽपगतव्याः । क्रियाशब्दाश्च । अवयासह । उंकुल्लइ ।
उष्काळेइ इत्यादयः ॥ अत एव कृष्टवृष्ट वास्यविद्वस् वाचस्पति विहरश्चस् प्रचेतस्

2. Dr. Bühler's Introduction to the *Vikramānandadeva charita*

3. See his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, February 1914, P. 22.

4. Hemachandra wrote his grammar in A. D. 1112 (V. S. 1168), See Vrajnīl Śāstrī's *Gujarātī Bhāṣā no Itihāsa*, p. 40 (Edition of 1866 A. D.)

प्रोकप्रोतादीनां विवादिप्रत्ययान्तानां चाग्रिचित् सोमधुत् सुगुहस्येत्यादीनां पूर्वं कविभिरप्रयुक्तानां प्रतीतिवैषम्यपरः प्रयोगो न कर्तव्यः शब्दान्तरैरेव तु तदर्थोभिधेयः ॥ यथा कृष्टः कुशलः, वाचस्पतिर्गुरुः ॥ विष्टरश्मः हरितित्यादि ।

It will be seen from this that by the word भाषाशब्दा Hemachandra means *Desi* words spoken in several other provinces, and not Prakrit words, that the very fact of his warning against the Prakritising of words not used (in Prakrit form) by scholars (or poets) of by-gone times, and the expression प्रतीतिवैषम्यपर show that the Prakrits were not spoken languages in Hemachandra's times.⁵

At another place Hemachandra approaches the matter from another point, and yet the inference is the same. In his gloss on *sūtra* VIII 1-231 (पो व) he says —

5 Dr Sten Konow holds that the principal Prakrits were obsolescent in Rājasekhara's time (about A D 900)—*vide* his essay on 'Rājasekhara's Life and Writings' in his edition of *Karpūra Mañjarī* (Harvard Oriental Series), p. 209, where he says —

"Finally, from the fact that Rājasekhara, who 'knew all languages, (17), did not correctly distinguish the different Prakrits, we may infer that the living knowledge of those dialects was at that time, considerably diminished."

Mīrkaṇḍeya, who flourished after the first quarter of the fifteenth century A D. (*Vide supra* Lec IV, Section I p. 261), has a significant comment against Rājasekhara's Prakrit. In his *Prākṛita-Sarvasva*, III-77 Mīrkaṇḍeya speaks of क्रिया as undergoing विकल्प (vikalpa as he calls it) giving किरिया as the Prakrit form, and in his gloss he observes
गणेषु देवपङ्केषु कदुकिआदि (कपूर्व १।२४) इति राजशेखरस्यापवाद एव ।

कदुक्रिया should have been कदुकिरिया here grammatically. By अपवाद we have to understand अपप्रयोग, for there is no room for a possible other reading, as कदुक्रिया and not कदुकिरिया will fit into the metrical scheme Hemachandra excludes अप्रयोग as in इय नाम क्रियादीनि (S. III 1 III 1104, gloss) But Rājasekhara's कदुक्रिया can hardly be justified under this exclusion, not being in an अप्रयोग writing. The only possible defence may be that कदुक्रिया as a *samāsa* may yield कदुकिरिया under the altered conditions of a *samāsa*. There is, however, no previous usage to support this defence. It is almost certain that Rājasekhara trips in phonetics because he writes artificially in a language that was dead or was obsolescent.

प्राय इत्येव ॥ वद् ॥ रिक् । एतेन पकारस्य प्राप्तयोर्लोपवकारयोर्यस्मि-
नृते श्रुतिस्त्वस्यते स तत्र कार्यः ॥

There is no real conflict between this and the last-named direction. The latter direction is a complement of the former. Where there is a chance of conflict of the *sūtras* and a proper way out is not seen, you have to be guided by the श्रुतिस्त्व test, but that only where the usage of the people who once spoke the language now dead cannot be ascertained by a reference to the actual works of पूर्वकविः. If the Prakṛite had been spoken languages in his day, Hemchandra would have given popular usage (लोकप्रयोग) as the test. The language being dead he had to provide some principle for guidance for forming words for the benefit of persons wishing not to speak Prākṛit (for that was not needed, the language being dead) but to write books in the dead Prākṛits.

This conclusion is not vitiated by the frequent use by Hemachandra of the terms यथाप्रयोगं (as in the gloss on VIII-II-159) and यथादर्शनं (as in that on VIII-1-84) as guiding hints, for the प्रयोग and the दर्शन are meant to be found in books, not in लोकभाषा.

True, the indications above noted (viz पूर्वकविप्रयोग, प्रतीतिवैयम्य and श्रुतिस्त्व) are apparently in the gloss on *sūtras* dealing with Prākṛit proper, and not on those treating Apabhramśa separately. But as the chapter about the main Prākṛit covers all the languages subsequently treated, one being regarded as the प्रवृत्ति of the other, there is good ground for taking these general principles for guidance as intended for Apabhramśa as well. In the chapter on Apabhramśa Hemachandra nowhere calls it by the name of भाषा nor does he refer the student to the लोकभाषा (as लोकद्वयगन्तव्यं), but treats it by name, Apabhramśa, just as he deals with Sanskrit by its name and other languages also.

We need not, however, rely on inference merely. The Prākṛit *Digūṣṭraya Kāvya* (*Kumārāpālā Charita*) is distinctly intended incidentally (and yet prominently and avowedly) to illustrate the several *sūtras* of the eighth *adhyāya* of *Siddha-Hemachandra* grammar, and it includes the portion on Apabhramśa also.

There would have been no necessity to illustrate Apabhramśa rules in this manner, if it had been a spoken language when the grammar was written by Hemachandra.

The language, then, which Bilhana refers to must be a post-Apabhramśa language, a stage between Apabhramśa and the language of the *Mugdhabodha Auktika*, which has evolved from Apabhramśa. Fixing the final period of spoken Apabhramśa about the first half of the eleventh century A. D. as we have done above, it will be seen that it had ceased to be a spoken language some three centuries and a half when the *Mugdhabodha Auktika* was written (V. S. 1150 = A. D. 1394).

Bilhana must have had some personal grudge against the Gōrjaras, one would think, in so denouncing their language; for less than two hundred years before him Rājasekhara in his *Kārya-Mimāṃsā* speaks admiringly of the Prākṛit spoken by the Lāṭas; (In Rājasekhara's time (900 A. D.) Gujrat was still known as Lāṭa); and of the speech of the people of Sorāṣṭra;—unless the language was sadly vulgarized in two centuries. Rājasekhara speaks of the Lāṭas in the present tense as speaking their Prākṛit. Evidently, then, in 900 A. D., the period assigned to Rājasekhara, Apabhramśa was an actually spoken language. It ceased to be such within a century and a half after that, or, according to Dr. Tessitori, within one century after that.

But we find Bhoja, in his *Sarasatī-Kaṇṭhābharana* (A. D. 1014) saying:—

अपभ्रंशेन तुभ्यन्ति स्वेन नान्येन गुर्जराः ॥

Thus it would seem that Apabhramśa was still a spoken language in A. D. 1014. Thus the time I have fixed, viz. the first

6. पठन्ति लट्भं लाटाः प्राकृतं संस्कृतद्वयः ।

जिह्वा ललितोद्गमलचसौन्दर्यमुदया ॥

सुराद्रूपमवा ये च पठन्त्यर्पितसौष्ठवम् ।

अपभ्रंशावदंशानि ते संस्कृतवचोऽपि ॥

half of the eleventh century A D for the disappearance of Apabhramśa comes approximately near the truth. The line in *Sarasvatī Kanthābharana* just quoted is however capable of the interpretation that the Gurjaras were satisfied with no other Apabhramśa than their own, which would indicate that their Apabhramśa as that of others had assumed distinctive evolutions, some stages further than the old Apabhramśa which had ceased to be spoken. In that case even, the time limit I have fixed need not be altered.

We shall now take a bird's eye view of the nature of the language that prevailed in Gujarat after the disappearance of Apabhramśa. Before we come to the prominent and definite landmark about the close of the fourteenth century A D, in the shape of the *Mugdharabodha Auktika* (V S 1450 A D 1391) the post-Apabhramśa literature is not yet properly investigated or known. A few specimens are supplied to us recently in the very useful paper from the pen of Mr Chimanlal D Dalal M A contributed to the Fifth Gujarātī Sahitya Parishad on the MSS found in the Jain *Bhandāra* at Patana. I take the following specimens from it -

(1) पउमसिरि चरित्र

Eleventh century
A D.

Year of copy V S 1191 (A D 1135)

The date of composition is unknown but must be about a century older than the copy from the language of it unless as is often the case it was designedly written in a language older than its time.

घादिलु दिव्य दिदि कवि जपइ
अहु जण रोळ सुए विभु सपइ ।
निखणइ साइमि पन्नरसायथ
धम्मवद्दानइ पद्दुगुणमायथ ॥

[The metre here is अरिष्ट (as given in *Vānībhāsana*) The हि in l 1 is to be read long, the anusvara in इ in l 4 is कोमलतम and the syllable is of one *matra*, unless इ is a mislection for उ]

Thirteenth cen-
tury A. D.

(2) मदनरेखासंधि

V. S. 1297=1241 A. D.

वारहसत्ताणउए वरिसे आसो असदछटीए ।
सिरिसंयपदथणाए एवं लिहियं छयाभिहियं ॥

(3) जम्बुचरित्र

V. S. 1299=1243 A. D.

वारसनध्वाणउए भरसियपडिगुरिसमुद्धरियं ।
भतासी भासाए भणियअं संयभएए ॥

(4) सुकोशल चरित्र

V. S. 1302=1246 A. D.

तेरदुखतरवरिसे सिरिरीरजिर्णिदमोअछछाणे ।
कझाणं इणइ सया पदंत गुणं ताण भयाण ॥

[The णं in गुणं, or दंत in पदंत in the second line is short in this
आयां metre.]

(5) वयरस्वामि चरित्र

V. S. 1316=1260 A. D.

सोइगमहानिहिणो गुरुणो सिरिवयरसामिणो धरियं ।
तेरइसोछुत्तरए रइयं सहवारणं जयउ ॥

(6) नर्मदासुन्दरीसन्धि

V. S. 1328=1272 A. D.

तेरससयअदवीसे वरिसे सिरिजिणपहुपसाएणं ।
एसा संधी विहिया जिर्णिदयणाशुसारेण ॥

[In the first line here the हु is *guru* in पहु and णं, the last
syllable, is हतु. Perhaps the word is पहुप्पसाएण.]

(7) गौतमस्वामि चरित्र

V. S. 1358=1302 A. D.

Fourteenth Cen-
tury A. D.

गोयमसामिर्दि गोयमचरियं रइयं पदमंजरीए भासाए
कलिय अमावसाए अद्वावन्नरस वरिसस्त ॥

These specimens will suffice. They indicate that, whether
the writers wrote in a language much anterior to their times

(which seems very likely), or whether the language in the works belongs to their own time, the interval between the former and the latter being not more than a century, the language of the books upto the end of the twelfth century A. D. was the Apabhramśa of the centuries that had gone by, in other words Apabhramśa had not altered much in the books upto the twelfth century. I say this with an eye to the later development of the language, more than with reference to its previous stages. But, as we notice, from other evidence already discussed, that the early Apabhramśa was a dead language before Hemchandra's time, the language in these works must have been merely book language and not that of the people.

We have, however, other works written in language apparently approximating more to their own time than the instances noted above. Let us see them:—

Thirteenth century A. D.

(1) जंयुस्वामिरास

V. S. 1266 = 1210 A. D.

जंयुदीन भरह खिति तिहि नयर पद्मण्ड ।
 राजपूह मामेण नयर पद्मणि वक्खण्ड ॥
 राज करह सेणीय नरिंद मस्वरहं जु सारो ।
 साधतणइ पुत्त बुद्धिमंत मंति अभयहमारो ।

(2) रेवंतगिरिरास

Probably V. S. 1288 = 1232 A. D.

परमेसर तित्पेसरह पयंपकय पणमेमि ।
 भणिसु रास रेवंतगिरे अंकिरुदेवि सुमरेवि ॥

(3) नेमिनाथ चतुष्पदिका

V. S. 1356 = 1300 A. D. or 'thereabouts

आवणि सरवणि पडुय मेहु
 गज्जइ विरहिरि झिज्जइ देहु ।
 विज्जु झवक्कइ रक्खसि जेम्ब
 नेमिहि पिणु सहि सहियइ केम्ब ॥

સહી મળઈ સામિણિ મન (૧મત?) દ્વરિ
 દુજ્જનતળા મ ધંદિત પૂરિ ।
 ગયડ નેમિ તડ વિનટ્ટડ કાઈ
 અછઈ અનેરા વરહ સયાઈ ॥
 ચોલઈ રાજલ તડ રૂઠ ધયણ
 નરિય નેમિ સમ વર રયણ ।
 ધરઈ તે જુગહરણ સચિ તાવ
 ગયણિ ન ડગઈ દિનયર જાવ ॥
 માદરિ મરિયા સર પિકલેવિ
 સકરણ રોનઈ રાજલ દેવિ ।
 હા પવલદી મદ નિરપાર
 કિમ સ્વેપિસિ કરણસાર ॥

I would draw your particular attention to the unsimplified conjuncts, e. g. those in વિજ્ઞુ, ડગઈ, સિજ્જઈ, વિનટ્ટડ, etc., and also to the un-united vocalic groups અઈ and અડ, and the form અછઈ. These are distinctly Apabhramśa features, features which, with the formation of the Gujarātī language, assumed new evolutions, viz. simplification of the conjunct and the lengthening of the preceding vowel during the early beginning of Gujarātī or rather during the stage between અન્તિમ અપધંશ and the beginning of Gujarātī, and the wide ઈ and ઊ during the formation of modern Gujarātī. અછઈ, however, is a *post*-Apabhramśa form; અછડઈ being the Apabhramśa stage.

[On further consideration I am now inclined to accept a better name than અન્તિમ અપધંશ,—a name given by me provisionally for want of a better one at the time. The new name I mean is *Gurjara Apabhramśa*. Mārkaṇḍeya in his *Prākṛita-Sarosa* (at the end of *pāda* XVIII) enumerates a number of Apabhramśa dialects named provincially. In that list we find *Gaurjāri*. (Mārkaṇḍeya flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century A. D.; see *supra* P. 261). Bhāṣa speaks of *Gurjara Bhāṣā* in the opening stanza of his first *Nalāṅkhyāna*—ગુજરભાષા નલરાજાના ગુણ મનોહર ગાર્ક; but also later on in stanza 10 of the first *Kaṇva* he calls

the language *Apabhramśa* कथामात्र ए नद्वयधरानी अपभ्रंस ए दासी (I shall deal with this evidence in my sixth lecture in a different connection) Putting all these factors together it is possible conjecturally to construct the linguistic name prevalent during the period between the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century A D (the approximate period of the end of Bhalana's literary activity, see Essay (Gujarātī) on Bhalana by Ramalal Chundilal Modi p 155) This name I take to be गुर्जर अपभ्रंस (*Gurjara Apabhramśa*)]

[As regards the main *Apabhramśa* itself Markandeya gives three principal varieties *Nāgara*, *Viśāḍa* and *Upaṇḍara* Of these *Nāgara* is the important one Sir George Grierson goes the length of making a conjecture that Hemachandrea dealt with this *Nāgara Apabhramśa* and that *Nagara Apbhramśa* derived its name from the literary caste of Nagara Brahmans (L S I. Vol IX, Part II, page 327) I am not prepared to accept this conjecture. After all, the Nagara Brahmanas were smaller than a clan, and to name a language after a caste smaller than a clan and deviate from the usual practice of naming language after the provinces wherein they flourished is extremely improbable I do not forget that names of provinces in ancient India—usually used in the plural number—really indicated the names of the tribes that settled therein But we have not yet heard of नागरा as the name of a province, as we know of विद्मर्षा, हाटा and

7 I am aware that Mr Devadatta R Bhāndarkar in his valuable paper on "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population (Ind Ant XL 1911 A D pp 33 34) shows almost to demonstration that the Nāgaras were a clan which came into India in the early centuries of the Christian era, settled at or about Nagarkot (modern Kangra) in the Punjab, and generally spread over different parts, Vāḍnagar (ancient Anantapur or Anandapur) being one of them This would indicate the Nāgaras as a fairly large clan But Sir George Grierson speaks of the caste that flourished in Vāḍnagar and Mārkaṇḍeya, the earliest corner of the name *Nāgara Apabhramśa* flourished as late as about 1450 A D, at which period the caste referred to by Sir George was certainly not such a big clan, and hence my remark stands

the like. Again, Mārkaṇḍeya, who was the first writer to give the name of नागर अपभ्रंश, does not enlighten us on the point of the derivation of that name as he does, for instance, in the case of Vrāchada (सिन्धुदेशोद्भवो माचडोऽपभ्रंशः).]

(4) संवेगमातृका

V. S. 1850 = 1291 A. D.

भले भणउ जाणउ परमरथु
दुलहु (sic.? दुलहु) चउविह संध सत्थु ।
मीहउ भणउ किम कवि बहइ
मीहा विथु संसार जु भमइ ।
मीहा तणी अज एवही सक्ति
मीहउ ध्यातां ह्मइ ज सक्ति ॥

Note the unsimplified conjunct here also. This is exactly one century before the *Mugdhārabadha Aulāka* wherein we first find the conjunct systematically simplified and the previous vowel lengthened (नाचइ, पापरी, etc.).

(5) कष्टूली रास

V. S. 1868 = 1307 A. D.

गणवइ जो जिम दुरिउ विहंड्यु
रोल निगारणु तिहुयणमंड्यु
पणमवि सामीउ पास जिथु ॥
सिरि भरेसर छरीहि वंसो
बीजी साहइ वनिछ रासो
पम्मिय रोल निगारिउ ॥

* * *
तम्हि नयरीय तम्हि नयरीय वसइ चहु लोय ।
चित्तामणि जिम दुर्छायहं बीइ दाउ सत्रियेय हरितीय ।
सञ्चइ सीलि मरहरइ कूडकपट्ट नवि तेय जाणइ ॥
गळोउ जलु वाही पीइ धम्म कम्म अणुरक्त ।
एक जीइ किम वनोइ कष्टूली उपवित्त ।

* * *
तां जगि जयवंत बन्हाउ जां जगि ऊगइ सहसकरो ।

Note here the gradual rise of the new phase of the conjunct, viz: its simplification and consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel;—gradual, in the sense that while some words take this new shape, others do not; thus ऊगइ has assumed this simplification here, whereas in 1200 A. D. (specimen No. 3 above) i. e. seven years earlier, we had रगइ. On the other hand कस्मि and सचइ indicate the potency of the unsimplified conjunct still clinging firmly. The conjunct in यस्म must be excluded from comparison in this case, as it is one of those words which have not till now submitted to the simplifying process, यान is never the form assumed by it.

(6) गौतमरास

V. S. 1412=1355 A. D.

We are now very near the *Mughārabodha Auktika* period (V. S. 1150),—only thirty-eight years more and we reach that period, the period of the simplified conjunct in full swing. And we find the indications in abundance in this work. Whereas the unsimplified conjunct is rare, as in पिस्सवि and जस्स, the simplified conjunct in this *Rāsa* is plentiful.—कीजइ, दीठइ, सीजइ, चइठउ (not चइठइ)—(although in the line following this word we have पयटउ which I suspect should be पइठउ, or at least पयठउ, as the rhyme with चइठउ would demand); नाठा (not नट्ठा); दीजइ, छणीजइ, समरीजइ, भणीजइ, नमीजइ, भमीजइ, सीजइ, आठ (not अट्ठ); पेसइ, पेसवि; साचा, साचठं (not सच्च, सचठं); आज, आउ (not अज्ज, अज्जु); पृउइ (not पुच्छइ); दीसइ (not दिस्सइ); गाजतउ (not गज्जतउ), गान्तेरी, गाजइ, (it must be noted that this comes as a rhyming word with राजइ, which is initially a word without a conjunct ज; still unless गाज were current freely the word could not have been used at all); काउ (not कज्जु; it is used in rhyme with आउ; but here it was possible to say अज्जु and कज्जु for both, if the simplification of conjuncts had not become dominant during this period); ऊठी (not उट्ठी); सात, दाथ (not सत्त, दत्थ).

The ईजइ for इजइ (passive) which Dr. Tessitori has discovered in the *Prāṇita-Paṇḍita*, is found here in full force; and upon this ईजइ Dr. Tessitori based the "inference that the simplification of

8. *Supra*, p. 391, last para; and Dr. Tessitori's "Notes" referred to therein.

conjuncts had begun long before the fourteenth century A. D. (to which period the *Prākṛita-Pāṇḍya* belongs, because the verses quoted therein for the most part are much older). We have seen in our specimens here, that this process of simplification of conjuncts begins *after* 1300 A. D. (the date of नेमिनाथ चतुष्पदिका which still adheres distinctively to the strong conjunct and short vowel), and has made a timid start in 1307 A. D. (specimen No. 5. कल्लोरास). Unless, then, Dr. Tessitori has actual evidence in Mss. earlier than the fourteenth century or unless he can fix the exact or approximate dates of the older quotations in the *Prākṛita-Pāṇḍya*, his inference is weakened by the evidence now before us. It must be however noted that possibly the language of the specimens before us was some years older than the dates of their writing, and thus Dr. Tessitori's inference may come near an approximate correctness. The only hesitation I feel in the present case is due to the fact that the language of these particular specimens seems naturally to belong to the period when they were written.

But I must give a few extracts from *Gautama Rāsa*, though it is not possible to give all containing the words enumerated above.—

(a) सात हात उपमाण देह रुविदि रंभावर ॥ ३ ॥

(b) पिक्खवि निरुदम रुव जस्स जण जंपइ कंचिय ।

अहवा निश्च पुदय जग्मि जिणवर इणि वंदिय ॥ ५ ॥

[The पिक्खवि is here not पेखवि, nor is जस्स turned to जास yet. As regards पुद्व and जग्मि I exclude them on the same ground as that on which I excluded पम्म in the last specimen. The words never have till now become पू or जाम].

(I now quote from a copy taken from the Ms. in Mr. C. D. Dalāl's possession).

(c) देवे समवसरण तहिं कीजई ।

*जिणि दीठई मिप्पामति खीजई ।

त्रिभुवनगुरु सिंहासणि चरुउ ।

तत्तल्लणि मोह दिगंति पयहुउ ॥ १ ॥

(*the Ms. has जीणि),

[As I have remarked just above पयठउ is obviously an error for पइठउ, or पयठउ, (the ति of दिगति is to be read long under the usual latitude in Apabhramśa versification ⁹)

विभुवनगुरु and मिथ्यामति are here unaltered Sanskrit words pure tatsama words used designedly it seems, as well known and specially privileged expressions]

(d) मूं आगइ को जाणु भणीजइ ।

मेरुह अवर कि जाम दीजई ॥ १५ ॥

(e) सदसकिरण जिम नीरजिणु पेसवि रूप विशाल ।

एहु अचभसु सभए साचउं अह इद्रियाल ॥ १८ ॥

(f) चिंतामणि करि चडियव आजु ।

सरतर सारई वडिय काजु ॥ ४२ ॥

(g) पर परवस परता काइ कीजइ ।

दसदेसतर कारं भमीजइ ।

कण¹⁰ काजु आषास परे ।

प्रह ऊठी गोयसु समरीजइ ।

काजु समग्र तत्क्षणि सीझई ।

नननिहि विलसइ तांड घरे ॥ ४४ ॥

9 See Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛita Sarvasva* XVIII, 8 —

इच्छ दोऽनुरोधेन वपानां सुखलघवम् ।

10 For the change of the gender of कण from masculine to neuter see *ante* Vol I, p 472 (b)-Addenda-supplementary, and p 251, n 101. The use of वण here (कण काजु अषास करे) is exactly like that in the illustration to *Si He* VIII iv 367, वजे कणेषु. This illustration was of course older than Hemachandra, while that in *Kumāravallī charita* VIII, 30 (cited *ante*, Vol I, p 251, n 251, n 101) was of Hemachandra's coinage, and so it will indicate his personal predilection in favour of the restricted use of कण.

(It is to be noted that, though कण has gone through these variations of gender from masculine to feminine and then to neuter, कण is remained restricted to the neuter gender, so much so that the declinable use of किम् in the sense of 'why' is represented by काइ; काइ अहो मुहु मुहु=किम् अयोमुख तव, *Si He* VIII iv 367, fourth illustration).

I exclude from this survey a work called જ્ઞાનપંચમી ચોપાદ (V S 1423=A. D 1867) which was written by one, Viddhanu sso of Málhe, and pupil of Jina Udayagora, while touring in Magadha, for it obviously adopts, as if desigoodly, forms which must have been obsolete in his days, it being hardly likely that they should be forms still lingering in the language of the times, especially as the interval between this work (V S 1423) and *Mugdhārabodha-Auktika* (V S 1100) is only about a quarter of a century, and also as *Gautamo Rāsa*—which was only eleven years before it—discloses a pretty luxuriant crop of the simplified conjunct with a lengthened preceding vowel. You have only to look, in the જ્ઞાનપંચમી ચોપાદ, at words like ઇમ્મદ્ (for હામદ્), અચ્ચદ્ (instead of આચ્ચદ્ or અહ્ચદ્, though આહ્ચદ્ is also used by this writer, betraying the really prevalent feature of his times), દિમ્મદ્ (for દીનદ્), and સમ્મદ્ (for સંમ્મદ્), and you will feel a kind of conviction as to the intentional use of the out of date forms with the strong-vowelled conjunct. An illustration in point from our time will impress you with what I mean. If you look at the writings of Mr. Kesarāvalī H Dhruva, you will find a number of words which

How completely the original derivation of કવળ and કર્ણ (G) was forgotten is further visible in the altered use of કર્ણ in earlier Gujarātī literature, it being used (like કવળ ઘળ, કવળ કવળ, કવળ કાળ) as an attributive adjectival word instead of being given a purely pronominal position without a વિશેષ્ય, which would be its true position justified by its derivation from ક પુન. Thus Premānand has વહો સમે કોળ દેશ વસોહો ? કેમ આવ્યા આ સરોવર ઘાટ ? (*Madhlasā Akhyāna, Kadarū XXIII Bṛhat Kāvya Dohān II*, first edition, p. 233 l 1). At present we would say “કિયે દેશ વસોહો ?” See also Nṛsīmha કોળ પુણ્યે કરી નાર હું અવતરી *Śṛīṅgāra mālā*, pada 148 in the Gujarātī Press' collection of his works.

The apparently neuter gender in કોળ આ-યુ પ? and such like expressions at present is due to the impersonal nature of કર્ણ, otherwise કર્ણ is masculine, and occasionally feminine (o g “પેલી રાઈ મઈ તે દૌઠી? કર્ણ હતી પ?”)

were in use in the literature of two or three centuries ago and are now gone out, such as ऊडल (=embrace), अगोप (=concealed) छेड़ (=end), निठवट (=the forehead), नेवर (=an anklet), बहव (=to let flow), सोंत (=to be finished), and the like. Now our descendants five hundred years hence if no clue were furnished them, would naturally conclude that such words were in vogue in the twentieth century of the Christian era. Exactly similar is the case with words and forms found in the work I am just now speaking of.

[With this very eloquent testimony of literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries before us, I am afraid we must hesitate before completely agreeing with Prof R L Turner in the view that simplification of conjuncts occurred in Gujarātī by 1300 A D.¹¹ Our specimen (३), dated 1300 A D, bristles with the unsimplified conjunct, specimen (५), dated 1307 A D, shows only a faint beginning of the simplified conjunct and not till we come to 1356 A D—specimen (६)—do we find the simplified conjunct in full swing. Thus Prof Turner's period is out only by a short span, perhaps a quarter of a century, for the simplified conjunct in 1356 A D (*Gautama Rd̥sa*) must presuppose a beginning of the process about three decades precedent to the time. It would be interesting to know what Miss Prof Turner relies on in this matter.]

Now we reach the sure ground of the *Mugdhārabodha Auk̥ṭika*¹² (V S 1450=A D 1394), the language contained in which being undoubtedly the language of its day, serves as a beacon light throwing its flashes before and after. We have seen the period before it in its flashes, we now pass on to the period after it for the language of this *Auk̥ṭika* need not detain us at present.

11 J P A S, July 1921, p 333

12 I believe I have not explained in these Lectures why I persist in calling this work an *Auk̥ṭika* when well known scholars like Sir

We may only remember here its prominent features, viz. the simplification of conjunct accompanied by the lengthening of the preceding vowel, the अइ-अउ स्वरपुग्ग (vowels in contact), and certain grammatical forms (e. g. ऐइ, देइ), and case terminations or suffixes like नउ, रहइ, as also some noticable words like किसिउं, माहरउं, ताहरउं, हवडां etc., which serve as links between the periods on either side of this illuminating *Aulika*.

So, then, we come to the works after 1450 V. S. noted by Mr. C. D. Dnlāl in his paper. And I may at once state here that the test I have applied in examining the specimens of the

George Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 353, 359) and Dr. Tessitori (Ind. Ant. February 1914, p. 24 para 1), have given it the name of *Mauktika*. My reasons are:

- (a) मौक्तिकं, as appended to this name, makes no proper sense;
- (b) मौक्तिकं has a reference to the expression ढकीनां किषिदाम्नाय संपदः in the opening verse of the work;
- (c) In the concluding colophon the author himself distinctly calls it मौक्तिकः-मौक्तिकं स्पष्टितं मुग्धहते श्रीदेव सुन्दरगुम्फमोक्षः ॥
- (d) *Aulika* was evidently a common designation for treatises of this kind, e. g. *Idhya-pralāsa-Aulika* (V. S. 1507); in which the author says:-
संक्षेपादौक्तिकं वक्ष्ये व. ३. १. ॥ हिन्दुदये ॥; this work is listed in Dr. Dübler's catalogue at No. in 18, as also in Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

The mistake in the name arose, I believe, from the fact that the whole name मुग्धावबोधमौक्तिकम् can be separated in two different ways, मुग्धावबोधम्+मौक्तिकम् and मुग्धावबोध+मौक्तिकम्, and also from the fact that H. H. Dhruva, in editing the book, called it प्रथमं मौक्तिकं of a series contemplated by him. This error was further accentuated by him in his paper on the *Neo-Vernaculars of Western India* read before the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists on 10th September 1889 at Christiania, wherein he uses the word मौक्तिक for *Aulika* at two places for certain. This may have misled Western scholars in this matter. Besides, Dr. Fleet in an editorial foot note at the opening page of my review of that work (Ind. Ant. Feb. 1892, p. 52) deliberately came to the conclusion that the name was *Mauktika* and not *Aulika*, on evidence cited by him which really leads to an opposite conclusion.

earlier period shows, as applied to those of the later period, that the language in which some of the works are written could not possibly belong to the time in which they were written. Of course, there will be found some exceptions also. Let us glance at some of these works —

(१) चिहुंगतिनी वेल—Date of composition not known;
date of copy V. S. 1462=1456 A. D.

Fifteenth century.

चिहुंगति मांदि काइ नच्छी सार

दीसइ दुरकतणु भंडार ।

* * * *

रामतिनी छइ मू घणी देव

गुरुपा संघनी निव कुरु सेव ।

अज्ञानपणइ आस्तातन कीध

वस्तिग लागइ भीसंघ पाय ॥

It is evident that the interval between the composition and the copying of this work could not be very long. For, while the simplified conjuncts in दीसइ, लागइ would place the work under half a century before the *Mugdhaṭabodha Aullā*, the genitive termination तणु and still more नी (in संघनी) would fix the work in the *Mugdhaṭabodha* period.¹³ Similarly छइ also belongs to

13. गुरुतणुं वचन—*Mugdhaṭ*. p. 4, col. 1 and in several other places. एकनउ, जेहनइ विपइ, &c., *Ibid*, P. 4, Cols. 1-2 and other places. कर्तानी अपेक्षा, कर्मनी अपेक्षा; *Ibid*, p. 6, col. 2. True, तण is given in *Si. He.* VIII-iv-422 as an *adda* for संबन्धिन् when used in Apabhrāmśa; but it had not yet acquired the position of a specific termination of the genitive case. It seems that its use as such a termination was an evolution peculiar to later Apabhrāmśa. The instances given by Hemachandra for केर and तण viz. जयुकेर हुकारेण and अम्हइ तण show that केर and तण were affixed after the Apabhrāmśa genitive terminations, स or इ (जम्ह=यस्य, and अम्हइ=अस्मिन्+स्य); यस्य संबन्धिनि हुकारे and अस्माकं संबन्धिनि: being the form of use recognized then. Kālidāsa in his *Śākhantala* (Act VII) has ममेकेरए उडए (ममसंबन्धिनि उडए). This marks the early adjectival stage of केर. It was reserved for subsequent centuries to turn these suffixes into regular terminations, दुरकतणुं in our specimen would have been दुरकहनुं in these earlier times.

that period, though नच्छी (for नस्थि) made up of न+अच्छि is a very rare and peculiar formation.¹⁴ It will not, however, counteract the cumulative evidentiary effect of the other features. We can therefore safely place this work about the end of the fourteenth century A. D.. The uncontracted स्वरधुम्, अइ (लगइ, अज्ञानपणइ &c.) also is a time-fixing item.

(२) त्रिभुवन दीपक प्रबन्ध

(About V. S. 1460 = A. D. 1401; for the author was alive in that year;—that is all that is known).

This work also indulges in obsolete conjunct-preserving forms:—
चल्लिय, मगि, (per मागि nr मारगि), दिदी. Yet its style otherwise marks it as using language of its own days:—

मानससरि ओ निम्मउइ करइ कवइउ हंस ।

तां सरसति रागइ रहइ जोसी जाणइ हंस ॥ २ ॥

(३) विद्याविलासरास

(V. S. 1486 = A. D. 1430)

पीपडगच्छिउहि गिदभा गणहर

सिरि वीरूपद छरि ।

नामिइ लीधइ जासतणइ सवि

पाप पणासइ दूरि ॥ ३ ॥

This work may fairly represent the language of its own period. पणासइ—which is not from the causal of नश् (नाशयति) is प्रणश्यति and would have halted at पणस्सइ in an earlier period. जासतणइ, no doubt, still looks back to the earlier period when तण was tacked on to the genitive termination (यस्य संबन्धिनि=जास (यस्य-जस्स)+तणइ. Thus the change of जस्स to जास belongs to the later period, and here is a complex combination of two periods in which the fact of the later evolution must obviously predominate as the age-determining factor, for the past may linger in the present, but the present cannot live in the past by way of anticipation of a future evolution, in cases of this nature.

14. Unless नच्छि be a mislection, owing to misapprehension of the letter च्च, which is not unlikely.

(४) दशार्णभद्ररास

(V. S. 1486 = A. D. 1430).

This work also reflects the language of its own date:

दशनभद्र गुण गाइसिउं
 नासप कसमळ पूरि कि
 इणिपरि जिणवर वांदतां ए

The नासप and वांदतां mark the simplified conjunct of the later Apabhramśa; and गाइसिउं for गाइस्सामो and other forms, इणिपरि where प्रकारेण' has dwindled into परि (through पयार-पयर), and the तां in वांदतां are expressions and forms known in the later period alone.

(५) नेमिनाथ काग

(V. S. 1503 = A. D. 1446)

देवी देवि नवी कवीभर तणी घाणी अभीसारणी
 सरसति सुगम मति देवीभ देवीभ तुं जगि सार.रे
 नीलकमळदल सामल जिनवर वरणवुं नेमि कुमार रे ॥
 कामित फळ दातार सामी नेमि कुमार
 सासारी निज काज राजहमारी

Here we are in the heart of the period of *Vasanta-Vildsa* (V. S. 1503) and of *Kāṇhadade-Prabandha* (V. S. 1519). तणी has settled down as a regular genitive termination from an adjective meaning संबन्धिन् or some such thing requiring ए or ह (genitive terminations) to link it with the preceding word; काज is not कज now, the simplified conjunct having now become a fixed institution; दातार is a word and form of later usage than even *Mugdharabodha*; and रे, as a word adopted merely as an ornamental appendage at the end of verses, is also a feature unknown to a period earlier than the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era.

(६) वस्तुपाल तेजपालरास

The date of this work is not ascertainable nor the author's name. Mr. Chimanlāl Dalāl simply calls it ancient, because he says, the names of Vastupāla and Tejapāla are given in the work

as Vastiga and Tejiga also which he thinks must be the real names in popular usage. Now Vestupāla died in V. S. 1293 and Tejapāla in V. S. 1308. It cannot seriously be asserted that this Rāsa was composed in the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era.* Some time must naturally elapse before a Rāsa would be thought of and by that time, if the names Vastiga and Tejiga were names of local and popular usage in their day, such names would be lost to tradition even. The probability is that, these names were of ordinary usage from generation to generation and Vastupala and Tejapala were dignified names, given a classical turn used in poetical works and stone inscriptions. But we need not wander long in the field of conjecture. Look at the language of the specimen from the Rāsa itself and you will be satisfied that the work could not have been earlier than the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era. Here it is:—

वीर जिनेसर नमीय पाय अनङ् गोयमसामी ।

सरसति तणङ् पसाउळङ् ए कदिसिउ सिर नामी ॥ १ ॥

यस्तुपाळ तेजिग तणउ अम्हे बोडिस रासो ।

भरत पेत्र धूरि गुजरात अनडिछपुर वासो ॥ २ ॥

Your attention will at once be arrested in the above by the following words:—अनङ्, कदिसिउ, तणङ्, तणउ, गुजरात.

अनङ् and कदिसिउ belong to a period not earlier than the latter half of the fourteenth century¹⁵ A. D., so far as I can see.

तण in the two places here is affixed direct as a termination to the word, without the intervention of the other genitive terminations, स or ङ. This, as observed in the case of specimen No (१), would place the work somewhere about the end or middle of the fourteenth century A. D..

15. अनङ् is found in the *Mugdhdvabodha Auktika* period, the Apabhramsa equivalent would be अन्नः. कदिसिउ;—this future formation is shown by Dr. Tessitori ("Notes" § 121) as instanced in *Avachuri to Dāṭavaiśṇavakāśīra* (A. D. 1400-1500), and *Upadeśamālabhāvabodha* (A. D. 1500-1550).

The ओ ending in रासो and वासो need not claim for the work late age (as ओ for अउ marks the beginning of Modern Gujarati—the earliest time of ओ being V. S. 1750 or thereabout). For in view of the presence of other Gnrjara Apabhramśa features in this work, this ओ may be regarded as reminiscent of the Apabhramśa stage, for Apabhramśa recognizes ओ in the nom. sing. of masc. nouns as an alternative form. (*St. H.* VIII. iv 332). The accusative in रासो (बोलित रासो) marks a later age disregard of the gender condition.

But there is the word गुजरात which will shift the date still later, a little later; for the country must have begun to be known by this specific name some time before the *Kūṇhaḍaḍa-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512) in local literature, as we find the name mentioned in that epic. On the other hand, as Sir George Grierson informs us,¹⁶ this name, Gujarāt, was known in Europe since the time of Marco Polo (1251-1321 A. D.)¹⁷

We can, therefore, combine all these items of evidence, and safely put this work, वस्तुपाठ तेजपाठरास, somewhere after the period of the *Mugdhārabodha Aṭṭika*, i. e. the beginning of the fifteenth century A. D..

(७) श्रेणिकरास

(Date of copy V. S. 1526 = A. D. 1470)

(The work must therefore be some time before this date, probably half a century before.)

The extract given is of neutral tint by way of linguistic evidence; and so I pass it over.

(८) मंगलकलस चौपाइ

(Date not known).

16. LSI, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 333.

17. For a detailed discussion of this name, Gujarāt, and its time see *infra* Lecture VI; the Gujarāt of Al Beruni (970-1031 A. D.) was different from the present day Gujarāt; and hence I exclude it here.

Specimen:—

मंगळकळसु चरित दिव भणसिउ रडिअ रसाळ ॥ १ ॥

रडिअ रसाळ निसुणतां मंगळकळसु चरित ।

भविआं भाविइ संभल्लु करीउ सुनिचळ चित्तु ॥ २ ॥

निश्चळ चित्त पसाउ लइ विपन विळीजइ दूरि ।

छळलित वाणी इम भणइ श्रीसर्वानंद छरि ॥ ३ ॥

The unlengthened अ in the first syllable of संभल्लु is the only trace of pre-*Mugdhakārodha* period, and that is not a very strong piece of evidence, whereas भणसिउ, निसुणतां, लइ and इम would point to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A. D.,

(८) पेथडरास

Mr. Dalīl says it appears to have been composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century V. S.. The specimen shows language of a period before the *Mugdhakārodha* —

कोडीनयर निगतिणीय बंदउ अंकिरुदेवि ।

शासन देवति मन घरीय गुरु चळण नमेवि ॥ २ ॥

रास रमेचउ जिणभवणि तालमेल ठरि पाउ ।

संघ तळायन रोपीउए सभगिरि विभगिरि वेवि ॥ ३ ॥

चळण for चरण must evidently be an unintentional adoption of a feature of *Māgadhi Prakṛit*. रमेचउ, घरीय, नमेवि &c. are a few indications of the period stated above.

(१०) संघपति समरसिंह रास

(V. S. 1471 = A. D. 1415)

The language is rather mixed, containing the older as well as a few later features, the former being most probably intentional adoptions. One form is very significant in connection, incidentally, with my theory of the व्रृत्त अ sound being the resultant of अय (अए) as a preceding stage, i. e. my anti-*samaprasāraṇa* theory. It is वयठउ instead of वइठउ.

अवणि घणइ सो वयठउ ए तीरथजात्राफळ लेइ ॥

(११) सुदयवत्सवीर चरित्र

The date of this work is unknown. Mr. Chimanlāl Dalīl

thinks it must have been composed in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Vikrama era. But there are several features which belong to a considerably earlier stage, and I believe the work must be placed in the pre-Mugdhārabodha period. The features I mean are —

The strong-vowelled unsimplified conjunct, e. g. सव्ये, अगई, लगई, पुच्छई, तुज्ज, मग्गेसु.

The non-terminal nature of तण in तुअतणइ;—here the अ is an evolutive of इ, the genitive termination of earlier Apabhramśa stage.

Sixteenth Century (१२) सागरदत्तरास
V. S.

Some time in the sixteenth century V. S. ;

for a pupil of the author wrote a work called ललितांग चरित्र in V. S. 1561. (See No १३ next below).

If, then, we find the unsimplified conjunct in this work, we must attribute it to a designed adoption of the style of language spoken in centuries gone by. The instances of this conjunct are —अट्ट, इत्थि, जुब्बण (for यौवन), दिट्ठउ, कस्स.

(१३) ललितांग चरित्र

(V. S. 1561)

The same remark as above applies to this—which has the conjunct in words like रजि (where even No १२ has राहु-तहिं राहु करइ) for रजि (राज्यमा), पुत्त for पूत.

(१४) नंदवतीशी चतुष्पदी

(Probably in V. S. 1510, but may easily be later.)

इम is one of the features of a period near after the *Mugdhārabodha Auktika*.

(१५) विट्ठणपंचाशिका काव्य चोपाइ

(Date of copy V. S. 1655=A. D. 1593. The work was probably composed about half a century earlier).

The simplified conjunct is prominent in this work—मूनी (not मुत्ती), ऊनी (not उट्ठी), सार (not रुइ for शब्द), माइ (not मंडइ), जास (not जस्स), तास (not तस्स), although तण is tacked on to these, नामतणइ, तासतणा, and with regard to this mixture of the old

and the new, I would remind you of my remark regarding specimen No (3) विद्याविद्यास रास. The simplified conjunct and the lengthened preceding vowel are undoubted features of the later period, whereas the detached position of तण is but a remnant of the earlier centuries. In fact जासतण, तासतण must have gradually come to be regarded as one compact form turning तण almost into a termination and ignoring the terminal nature of the त, as in the case of न and थौ (genitive and ablative terminations) coming together in forms like रत्नेनाथी, राजानाथी, and the like in Modern Gujarati. The expression शानतणइ रसि in this same work distinctly shows the terminal nature of तण. "आलोचना," V. S. 1330, has ससार तणउ. Could the terminal nature of तण have begun, then, as early as this? It seems so. But it is possible that this was but a rare instance, as would happen when changes begin to evolve. The state of things is thus this. In the earlier stages तण, adjectival, prevailed, then तण, terminal, came in, but तण, adjectival, still predominated, then gradually it gave place to the terminal तण and lingered on as a remnant of older times in occasional instances or in crystallized forms like जासतण् and तासतण्. The waters of a flowing river take their tinge from the soil they traverse, then new soil comes in and new tinges are taken and yet occasionally the older tinge survives or lingers till it finally vanishes.

छइ, इवडइ, रचिसि, तिम &c are other features pointing to the later period of this work, a period beginning with the fifteenth century A D and downwards.

(१६) कर्पूरमंजरीचउपइ

(V S. 1605 = A D 1549)

यस्य-जस्य has become जस in this work, partly through the exigencies of metre, in any case simplifying the conjunct. मंडिस (=माडीस) retains the short, strong, अ, but the future tense form being of a distinctly later type excludes any possibility of an earlier period for the work.

The अउ in the title, चउपइ, in contrast with चोपाइ in the title of earlier works arrests attention, but the चो in the earlier works

appears to be the handiwork of later writers of the title of the work. हुं, a later evolution of हुँ, distinctly marks the later period for the language in this work, heralding the coming of that evolute later on.

We may now glance at some works outside Mr. Dalāl's paper.

(क) वसन्तविलास

(V. S. 1508 = A. D. 1452).

This date is mentioned by Mr. Keshavalāl H. Dhruva (while editing the work) on the strength of the following words at the conclusion:—

शुभं भवतु लेखकपाठकयोः । श्री गजेंद्र श्री माणवंसे साह श्री देपालसुत
साह श्री चंद्रपाल आत्मपठनार्थं श्रीमद्युपविक्रमावसमयातीतं संवत् १५०८
वर्षे.....आचार्यरत्नागरेण लिखितोयं वसन्तविलासः ॥

The word लिखितः may mean either copied or composed. It is not clear what the meaning is. But the probability is that the work was composed and written in V. S. 1508. If, however, the strict sense of लिखित is taken, the work will have to be placed some years earlier. Mr. Keshavalāl puts the language of the work, 58 years earlier on the ground that poetry is written in a language earlier than its time, not so prose. I do not know how far this can be accepted as an invariable rule. However, taking our test work *Mugdharabodha Auktika* as the standard in this matter, we cannot quite regard the language as synchronous with that of *Mugdharabodha Auktika*. Some specimens may be considered:

आ इह पादइ साद ॥ २३ ॥

मवपौवन अभिराम ति रामति करइं छरंगि ।

स्वर्गि जिज्ञां छरमाछर राछ रमइं मन रंगि ॥ १५ ॥

आगइ इनु निवम्प ॥ ८० ॥

जं मथ धिर न पयोदर मोहरसु मग मारि ।

मान रसु फिज्ञा कारण तारणदीह निच्यारि ॥ २४ ॥

सरुठ कला तुं निशाकर द्वावरं सहरि संताप ॥ ६२ ॥

कहि सखी मुझ प्रिय वातडी रातदि किम दि न जाइ ।

दोहिल मकरनिकेतन चेत नहीं मुझ ठाइ ॥ ४६ ॥

जिमजिम विहसए विणसए..... । ॥ २७ ॥

इम देखी वनसंपए..... ॥ ३७ ॥

इणंपरि कोइलि कुंजइ पूंजइ जुगति मणोर । ॥ २६ ॥

तरणी अ शूं रति मांडि ॥ ८४ ॥

रति प्रीति शूं सोदए मोदए विभोवन चीत ॥ १८ ॥

आंकुडी मयणची जाणि ॥ ३४ ॥

चंदन चंदनचु मीत । ॥ १८ ॥

धापणि तणीअ अनंग । ॥ ६६ ॥

वसन्त तिहां परधान । ॥ १७ ॥

In these extracts, साद (२३) and मुझ (४६) (twice) mark the simplified conjunct, with the preceding vowel lengthened in the former and not lengthened in the latter. पूंजइ (२६) similarly (from पूंज=a heap; changed into a verb='mounts up into a heap') indicates the softened nasal and lengthened preceding vowel.

तिहां (१७) is a form given in the vocabulary at p. 10, col. 1 of the *Mughārabodha Aulika*.

ची-सु (३४, १८) are forms of the genitive termination lingering in the later *Apabhramśa* as occasional variants which have passed into Modern Marāṭhī as the termination for genitive. As Dr. Bhāndārkar has pointed out,¹⁸ एय (the Sanskrit *taddhita* termination) is the original of the genitive च.

तणीअ अनंग (६६) is a bold poetio license in so far as it is an inversion of प्रकृति and प्रत्यय,-अनंगअतणी (or अनंगतणीअ) is the original. The तण termination in the former case would be detached, with the अ-a faint remnant of the older genitive termination ह; in the latter it would be an attached termination, the feature of later *Apabhramśa*.

18. See his *Wilson Philological Lectures*. P. 257.

मणोर (२६) is a curious instance of the loss of a final हकार (मनोरप-मणोरह-मणोर).

इणपरि (२६) is a significant evolnte of एतेन प्रकारेण (प्रकारेण-पयारेण-पयारि-पेर, परि),—which as noted behind, marks the later stage of Apabhrāmśa इण may instead of coming from एतेन, i.e. a genitive form,¹⁹ the termination ण being appended to इ, though *S. IIe VIII-III-79, 80* would show इणं as either accusative or nominative इणं in later Apabhrāmśa may have taken the place of either instrumental or genitive, based on the Prakrit nominative.

जिम (२७) इम (३७) विम (४५)—are forms found in the vocabulary at p. 16, col. 1, of the *Mugdhārabodha Auktika*

सं (=with) in (१८) and (८४).—It is to be noted that what was सिङ्ग in the *Mugdhārabodha* period (चैतु लोकसिङ्ग वात करङ्ग * * * * कीर्णं सिङ्ग? लोकसिङ्ग, p. 3, col. I *Mugdhārabodha Auktika*) is become श in the *Vasanta vilāsa*, marking a later evolution. It is also to be noted that this श governs the genitive in तटणीन श (अ being the remnant of इ)—as is the case in Gujarātī now तटणीनी साथे (where, however, साथे is originally a noun in the locative case), while the अ is dispensed with in प्रीतिश

Similarly शुं=what, has a significant history किशुं in किश वारण (९४) and शु in शार (४२) point to two forms किशुं and शु The fact that कि is adhered to in मानरु किशकारण at the risk of infringing metrical rules, shows that किशुं was the more generally used form of the two, शु being a new evolution, forcing its way, but not yet widely accepted. But a matter of greater significance is this viz that किसिङ्ग was the form (of कीटङ्ग) in the *Mugdhārabodha* times (see the work, p. 16, col. 2 p. 17, col. 1),—it was also किङ्ग (p. 3, col. 1), and it is found in the form किशु in *Vasanta vilāsa* I think then, that these changes of सिङ्ग (—with) to शु and किसिङ्ग to किशु would justify us in regarding the language of *Vasanta vilāsa* as “half

19 Cf किण सिङ्ग(=करय-देन-सङ्ग), *Mugdhārabodha Auktika* p. 3, col. 1

20 *Mugdhārabodha* being written in V S 1450 and *Vasanta Vilāsa* in V S 1508.

a century later than that of the *Mugdhârabodha Auktika*, and therefore we may discard Mr. Keśavlâl Dhrova's theory and take *Vasanta-vilâsa* as marking the language of its own time. The fact that the *Kânhaḍade-prabandha* has किसी and कियु (Khaṇḍa I, st. 21-22) only five years after the *Vasanta-vilâsa* is also note-worthy कियु and कियुं being very near each other.

[Incidentally, we may note that whereas कियु-कियुं drops the कि and becomes यु in Gujarâti, Hindi drops the सु and evolves from the first portion (कि) plus the vowel remnant left after the elision of म्, the word क्या, and the vanished स or श reappears occasionally in inflexional forms only as an apparently adventitious letter. e. g. कितकारन (cf. कितकारण of *Vasanta-Vilâsa*, 24), कितने, कितकों, कितसे, कितका, कितमें, जिस, इस, उस, also as inflexional bases would point to कीदश, ईदश and some conjectural substitute for तादश, ओ= that (from अदम्) being a probable parent (corresponding to ओइ *Apabhramśa*, Si. II: VIII-iv-364.)]

इस (२३) and मिसां (१९) are more or less on the same footing as कितों as regards their development, for they have evolved out of ईसिउं (=ईदश) and जिसिउं (=यादश) of the *Mugdhârabodha* (p. 16, col. 2); thus lending support to the fixing of the language in *Vasanta-Vilâsa* half a century later than that of the *Auktika*.

राउ, रमइ, करइ are the usual *Apabhramśa* features which have come down into the later stages.

The य added to च in विच्यारि (२४) is, as I have already pointed out²¹ before, intended to mark the Sanskrit sound of च as distinguished from the generally prevalent Prâkrit sound.

(ख) कान्हडदेप्रबन्ध

(V. S. 1512=A. D. 1456)

This epic is a valuable find to the student of linguistic evolution in the case of Gujarâti and its sister languages. Next after the *Mugdhârabodha Auktika*, in point of time, not in importance,—for in importance both the works are equally valuable—this work stands as a further land-mark for our guidance, as it

21. See Vol. I of these Lectures, pp. 345-346.

contains evolutions of the language, continued upto a further period of over half a century, with some variations marking further progress. Let us take some examples —

- (a) The simplified conjunct, or the softened nasal, with a lengthened preceding vowel, can be seen here in abundance, — e. g. *સાપ*, *યાત*, *વાયલી*, *વાંકા*, *દીઠડ*, *વાંપદ*, *ચાંપદ*, *જમ્મૂ* (p. 12), *લગ*, *ભાગ* (p. 9), &c., &c.;
- (b) *સિંહ* (= *શુ what*) p. 12, l. 1 is found as a further step than in *Mugdāhvabodha Aulāka* which has *કિસિંહ* (p. 17, col. 1) or *કિંહ* (p. 3, col. 2), of course *કિંહ* has no direct connection with *સિંહ*; *કિસિંહ* has,
- (c) *કિહાં* (p. 12, l. 2) is like the *જિહાં* in the *Mugdāhvabodha* (p. 16, col. 1.),
- (d) *તળ* is found as a pure termination attached to words; e. g. *પ્રપચીતળ* (p. 11), *દેવતળ* (p. 17), and several other places, — only at p. 1 we come across the old relic, *તાસતળ* which, as already observed before, must have become crystallized into a compact form with the genitive nature of the *સ* worn out,
- (e) Furthermore, we find the later evolute of this *તળ* in *હું*, the present day genitive termination, e. g. *હોદહાંની* (p. 11, l. 1),
- (f) *નહ* (pp. 4, 5, 11, 96, 97, &c.) and *અનહ* (p. 78 &c.) are found indiscriminately in this work, the process of dropping the unaccented initial vowel being optional in this case as in the case of *અહ* and *હ* to be noticed just below, the reason being most probably that the older form (*અનહ*) lingered for a long time even after the birth of the new one (*નહ*), and so far as this particular word is concerned, the state of things is just the same even in our present day Gujarātī, *અને* as well as *ને* being in vogue, *નહ* has further dwindled into *નિ* also (p. 96, st. 208, p. 97 st. 275, &c.),
- (g) *અહ* (p. 66), *અહિ* (p. 31), *હ* (p. 69, p. 66) and *હિ* (p. 60—prose) are found, all used at will, in this work. The same remark as in the case of *અનહ*—*નહ* applies in

this case as regards the dropping of the unaccented initial vowel, with this modification, that in the present day Gujarāṭi we have only the final form ऐ and none other,

- (h) The general, almost universal, practice of the final अइ (in verbal present tense and nominal instrumental and locative cases) found in this work is found to have been broken in a few instances —

Verb:—P. 13. आवे, दाखे, राखे;

P. 12. आवे, मदेलावे;

P. 14. करेजे²² (imperative), from करीने-करीनइ;

P. 14. छोडावे;

P. 24. उयेखे,

Noun:—P. 23. ऊंचे हाथे;

P. 15. सरखे घोडे;

P. 24. भागे कणसे;

P. 7. गामे,

P. 33. गमि and also गमइ;

P. 47. रामेगमे, also रामिगमि (p. 91),

P. 88. हुस्के.

There are not many instances of this apparently exceptional use in this work. How are we to account for this anomaly? Two explanations are possible—viz

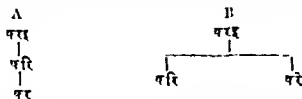
- (1) That the further evolunte ऐ had begun to come into use and was just peeping in along with the still general form अइ; or (2) that these cases of ऐ are the result of mislection for अइ or ई which also was a form, though at a later period, but jostling along with अइ at one time. It is seen in this book too (कान्हडदेवि, p. 91, चतुर्मुखि p. 90, &c.)

To me the latter explanation appears reasonable. For the form ऐ has come into the language at a very late stage in its history and its appearance in V. S. 1512 is really improbable and the

22. Although the final form is imperative, the original one is passive 3rd person singular present tense indicative mood, hence this instance is included under the अइ of the present tense

metrical quantity would remain unaffected by altering the ए into अइ (or इ where इ may be lengthened at will),

It may be noted that the form in ए has no doubt come from अइ, though not through the form in इ. The simultaneous use, at one stage of the language, of अइ and इ should present no difficulty. The following tabular form will make the situation clear.



A does not represent the true course of evolution while B does. My main reason is that the वृत्त (or rather the अर्धवृत्त) sound in ए and ओ can come from अइ-अउ (through अय-अर), and is impossible to be evolved from इ-उ. It may be remarked on diagram B that परि the elder child was born to the parent परइ at an old age and reigned along with the parent for some time the younger child परे was born only shortly before the parent's death, and lived along with the parent during the latter's worn out age, and has eventually survived as the sole heir now, (k.) पुद्गल (Khandā II, st 99, p 38)

I have already noticed this word in the first volume of the Lectures (pp 237, 240-241 and 98). I may add here a remark that this old formation of the verbal root-stem from प्राप्त-पत्त-पहुत्त-पहुच्च by a reverse process (as explained by me there) is accounted for by Hemachandra in a different but unconvincing manner. Si He VIII iv-390 specially framed as it were for this purpose, gives हुच्च as an *ādesa* for भू when it bears the sense of पर्याप्ति (sufficiency) मय पर्याप्ती हुच्च ॥ ८-४-३९० ॥ अपभ्रंश मय पर्याप्तार्ये वत्त-मानस्य हुच्च इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ The illustration given by Hemachandra अहरि पहुच्चइ नाहु (My husband reaches (my) lip'), shows the sense, "to reach" in which we now use पहुँचिहु.

I am afraid this is rather a fanciful and artificial analysis of a root found in actual existence in what Hemachandra believed to

be a synthetic form viz पदुच्च There are two fatal flaws in the analysis given by Hemchandra

(a) The प of पदुच्च is not accounted for either in the *sūtra* or in the gloss, possibly Hemchandra takes it as formed from प्र prefixed to भृ, but then प्रभृ can hardly have the sense 'to reach' (प्रभृ=to be powerful to be able, to be पर्याप्त and hence to reach is not very happy)

(b) The त्त in पत्त (from प्राप्त) which accounts for the त्त in पदति-पदति (Guj) as well as for the च in पदचिदु, has a justification of its own whereas in दृच्च the च्च is imaginary and hasless. Of course Hemchandra was not expected to know that several centuries after him Gujarati would have पदति also. None the less the derivation from प्राप्त has this in its favour. What I mean is that Gujarati पदति indicates प्राप्त more clearly than any artificial *ādeśa* like दृच्च with a प (प्र) thrown in leading back to nowhere.

In Vol I of these Lectures at p. 240 I have said that the च्च could only be formed if त्य had existed in पदति. But it seems this is not an absolutely necessary condition for प्र वत्त (Skr वत्त) has विच्च in *Apabhraṃśa* (S. He VIH iv 421) and रच्चति in the last illustration to S. He VIII iv 422 is traceable to Skr रक्त (रत्त Pr) so also²³ विदच्च from Skr विभक्त (Pr विदत्त), which yields वदचु in Gujarati. All these show that त्त by itself could in some cases turn into च्च. These words विच्च, रच्च and विदच्च go further to support the derivation of पदुच्च from प्राप्त (पत्त).

(ग) सीताहरण by Karmāṇa

(V S 1526=A D 1470)

In the opening of this poem the author tells us the date and name of the work —

सेवत पनर छविसइ सीताहरणविचार
कर जोडी कर्मण वीनइ अम्ह हीगोलाआधार ॥३॥

23 तै पमइ कोलतुलणे सयलफणामणिपसत्तपडिदिम्भ ।
उब्बहित जो बडुत्तिरि विदत्त लहुय पणवल्लभम् ॥

(*Gauda talo* st 51)

[The Ms. of this work was supplied to me by Mr Keshavlal H. Dhruva, B A The date of the copy is V. S. 1605].

SPECIMENS.

- (१) छवोर विघनहर(ण) पहिल तल्लूंचूं नाम ।
 सुर तेवीसइ तुह्म तवइ कर्मण करइ प्रणाम ॥१॥
 सरसति सामिणि वीनइ गाइस्यूं तुह्म पसाइ ।
 साचा अक्षर मेळये कर्मण लागइ पाइ ॥२॥
 देव सजे चलणे नमूं विभोवन छइ जे माइ ।
 कर जोडी कर्मण विनवइ अहो गाउ अयोध्याराय ॥४॥
- (२) कौशल्यानइ मंदिरि वारि
 च्यारी मिला वधावइ नारि ।
 ब्राह्मण वेद भणइ तिहा च्यार
 सतोष्य सघल्लु संसार ॥६०७॥
- (३) रिभीपण चीनती करइ
 नामि तुह्मारइ सल्लइ तरइ ।
 दिन दिन दिउल्लु अपिहुं मान
 स्वामी जोउ निहाली ज्ञान ॥६१२॥
- (४) अमृत आहार न द्रापइ कोइ
 स्वामी आप संभारी जोइ ।
 अह्मनइ दिवस हुआ घण वहु
 पाहु सेन चलाहु सहु ॥६१३॥
- (५) राग भीमपलासी
 अयोध्या स्थानक राम तुझारुं । वाडिं काइ विणासिउं ।
 सवलभणी सुग्रीव करि साहिउ । हवि किसी कहेस्यूं ॥७०॥
- (६) जे नाससि ते काम सिंहु करिसइ ॥७२॥
- (७) कर जोडी नइ करु चीनति तु मारइ तु तारइ ।
 रुडइ विरुडइ जे नर जगसइ अंतकाळि उगारइ ॥७४॥
 अठसठि तीरथ मइ अवगाथां रामचंद्र गु दीठा ।
 कंकोधो लेई नइ पाटि वइसारु हरल वदनि हरि वृठा ॥७५॥
- (८) एक इ ख तुझ आगइ सालइ
 माय वियोग्यां तात ।

हुं जाणं म पृछेसि उदमण
वल्तां कहिसिं वात ॥३०॥

(९) वर वंछित अहो मागिसिउं
अर नही अह्म काज ।

रामचंद्र वनि मोकल

भरथ बहसार राजि ॥१२॥

(१०) तिहां थिका राम सांचरिया
अनदिन मारगि थाई ॥२४॥

(११) चित्रकोटिथिहुं करिवं पीदान्
पंचवटी गईया ।

I have marked in black type in these extracts the words which indicate the linguistic peculiarities of the period, Thus:—

(a) अइ (uncontracted स्वरयुग्म) is found in तवइ, फरइ, छागइ, &c., (present tense); तुझारइ (instr.); अन्नइ (dative); et cetera;

(b) चू—genitive termination, rare;

(c) गाइस्वू, मागिसिउं, कदेस्वू; नाससि; अपसइ etc., (future).

(d) weak इ in तुझ (St. 1); अहो (St. 4, 12); तुझारइ St. 512); अन्नइ (St. 513);

(e) Strong इ in तुझ (St. 2);

(f) The locative in इ in मंदिरि (St. 567); पाइ (St. 2); रुडइ and विसडइ (St. 74); माटि (St. 75),

(g) Instrumental in इ in नामि (St. 512) &c.;

(h) The Sanskrit sound of च marked by य in च्यारि, च्यार (St. 507);

(i) तिहां quantitatively equal to तहां in St. 507;

(j) हु as an उपक्रियापद in दिउहु (St. 512),

(k) किसी for शुं (St. 70);

(l) तिहां थिका (St. 24) and चित्रकोटिथिहुं (specimen No. 22) illustrating the origin of the ablative थी (M. Guj.), where थिहुं means स्थितक or स्थिति and the preceding form is in the locative form;

(m) the peculiar writing form for सिउं viz. सिं, in सिं (st. 72)=शुं (what), and कहींसि (st. 30)=कहिंसुं (future of

- कह) which may, in a way, physically indicate the phonetic combination of ह and व eventually leading to हुं through स्पृ;—unless the writing is an error of the scribe, this being a rare manifestation and, सिंव being found in this very work, मागिसिंव (St. 12);
- (n) लेईनइ (St. 75); जोडीनइ (St. 74); the extension of the त्तवान्त form by the addition of नइ (=and) in these forms heralds that idiom of M. Gujarātī, करिने (=having done);
- (o) चलणे (St. 4). The ल for र here, an unintentional Māgadhī feature, is found in पेथहरास *supra* (fifteenth century V. S.); also जंउरामिरास V. S. 1266 जिण चउविस पय नमेवि गुरु चउण नमेवि ॥१॥; its presence here, a century later, would show that the word was transmitted as an accepted adoption.
- (p) हुं (St. 30). We noticed this contraction of Pr.-Ap. हवं in कर्तुरमंजरी चउपर V. S. 1605; (see *supra* p. 26); but this is nearly three quarters of a century earlier than that (*Sitā-harāṇa* being written in V. S. 1526).
- (q) सवल- (St. 507). The aspiration of the ग (evolute of क) into व is to be noted.

These are the principal features, others may be picked up also by a closer examination.

(घ) दशमस्कंध by Keśava.

(V. S. 1529=1473 A. D.) Date of copy V. S. 1787.

[The Ms. of this work belongs to the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Bombay. I was allowed an inspection of it.]

Specimens —

1st Sarga

संतारी पढता सह। अवलोकी अंधकूप ॥

दया करी दीवो कीयो ॥ श्रीभागवत स्वरूप ॥११॥

31st Sarga

विष्णु विप्र जे अंतर करे।

ते नर नरुं मदिं संचरे ॥

मिप्र ह्ये विचरे मही मांछ ।

मृदा न जाणे ते महीमाय ॥२६॥

I give these instances to show the opposite state of things when the scribe tampers with the original and adopts the forms of his own period. This will show that what in V. S. 1529 should have been करइ &c. was turned into करे &c in V. S. 1787. This, in an incidental way, supports the view I take of the gradual evolution of the अइ to ए after 1750 V. S.

(६) कादम्बरी by Bhālana

(about V. S. 1550)

(Date of copy V. S. 1672)

Specimens:—

आयमता रविकेरा किरण
एष चट्वा मेहलीनि घरण ।

ऊर्यमुखे तापस तप हेज
जाणे तेणे पीछुं तेज ॥

राता तर दीसिछि तथा
रकांबर उगरीयां यथा ।

संध्या अरुण आयमति सर
जाणि ऊढाढ्यं सिंदूर ॥

ठामि ठामि दूहिछि गाय
संदर शब्द शेदिना याय ।

अग्निहोत्रना हुइ होम
शामरक्तसु दीसि ध्योम ॥

[I have taken this from Vrajalāl Śāstri's *Gujarātī-bhāṣā-no-tihāsa* (pp. 64-65). Mr. K. H. Dhruva's edition of the पूर्वभाग of this is available for further specimens.]

I must observe that the scribe who wrote over a century after the composition of this work, has transformed the अइ ending of Bhālana's time into the इ ending widely prevalent in the later period. The metrical test will show this in some cases, e. g.

वैशवाली चित्रवर्णी दीसिछि प्रमाण

- (P. 56, 16, K. H. Dhruva's edition).

Here दीसिछि gives a great metrical deficiency whereas રીસદ છદ્ would fill the metrical measure properly. શોભદ at p. 6, 1, 19 is a rare exception betraying the scribe who evidently forgot to turn it into શોભિ.

The few noteworthy features in the above extract are:—

- (a) મેદેલીનિ 1. The change of અનદ-અનિ to નિ by apheresis.
2. The combination of અનિ (=aad) with the
જ્વાન્ત participles.

- (b) દીસિછિ The use of છે as an ઉપક્રિયાપદ, virtually as a termination, the original fraction of અદ-દ્ in દીસિ to express the present tense indicative being exhausted. However this exhaustion was not complete as we have દીસિ also in the full indicative mood; also દ્દદ્. Even now in poetry we have this form in the indicative mood

મન્દ મન્દ સમીર દેદે
તરુજમાં વદ્દુ મ્દાલતો

(Kāntā, by Manilal N. Drivedi.)

આવે સમીર સદ્દુ રમ્ય ઉપાસુલેધી

Kusamamālā p. 62. st. 2.

વદ્દુરુપ અહપમ પ્રેમ ધરે

Ibid p. 30

કદી મેઘ ધનુષ્ય બની વિલસે

સદ્દુ રંગ બની રસમેર વસે

(Ibid p. 30. St. 4.)

મંદવાઈ સમીર આ દિશ જો ચહે રવ એ ફરી,

નર્દિ સ્વપ્ન, એ તો ગાન પેલી ગાય કોયલ માધુરી.

(Ibid p. 66 St. 1)

- (c) દ્દદ્છિ The same as above, the additional feature being the passive form —‘are being milked’

- (d) ઝમિ ઝમિ The દ્દ here is not a contraction of અદ્. The metre will not accommodate અદ્. The અદ્ would come

from के (अके)-अकि-अइ; while this is from the noun without the क termination.

(च) हरिलीला by Bhima

²⁴ (V. S. 1541 = 1485 A. D.)

A few extracts from Kalâ VIII.

पाछू आप्यू राज दुआरि
 सेवक भणइ स्वामी अग्रधारि ॥ २ ७॥
 मोटु राजा एक मुकंद ।
 भवभयभंजन श्री गोविंद ।
 तेहनी नीति भणइ प्रल्हाद
 छोड्यु बीजु मिथ्याराद ॥ २९ ॥
 भणइ प्रल्हाद अछइ एकसूर
 तपो भणूछु ते कसूर ॥ ३२ ॥
 नारद तणां वधन छिइ जेद ॥ ३३ ॥
 पुत्र कछत्र नरि आदर करइ ॥ ३९ ॥
 एणीपरि फेरि फिरइ अपारि
 भवसागर नवि पामि पार ॥ ४२ ॥

24. Vrajlâl Śâstri gives V. S. 1540 as the date of this work (*Gujarâtî-bhâshâ-no śâhâsa*, p. 65, A. D. 1866 edition). I have before me a Ms. which was copied in V. S. 1574 (lent to me kindly by Mr. Hiralâl T. Pârekhi, Assistant Secretary, Gujarât Vernacular Society Ahmedabad) which has the following in the concluding lines.—

सोलकला संपूर्ण कथा
 मोदइ जैनतणां मन यथा ॥ ६ ॥
 आसो मासतणी पूर्णिमा
 जाणे किरि ऊग्यु चंद्रमा ।
 सोलकला शशिहर सकलंक
 ए श्रीकृष्ण कथा निकलंक ॥ ७ ॥
 संवत १५ रुदनीवीस
 (वस एक उपरि च्यालीस)

(The last line is taken from another Ms. of V. S. 1644) This would indicate V. S. 1541.

विष्णु विना छूटीइ नही ॥ ४३ ॥

भणि प्रल्हाद पिता अवधारि

कालसर्प कहीइ संसार ॥ ५२ ॥

स्तंभ मांदि बइठु छइ तेइ ॥ ५५ ॥

We find here the contactual vowels (स्वरयुग्म) अइ in abundance: भणइ, अछइ, करइ, किरइ, छइ, बइठ, the same contracted into इ in पामि, भणि; the form अछइ simultaneously with its mutilated evolute छइ, the passive forms छूटीइ and कहीइ which are the intermediate steps between those in इयइ (कहियइ) and the form in इये (कहिये)—M. Guj.—which changes the voice and the person, the अउ contracted into उ in मोइ, बीउ, भणु, छु, बइठ, the purely terminal stage of तणु in नारदतणां; features all, which mark the period of the work characteristically.

(७) प्रबोध प्रकाश

(V. S. 1546 = 1490 A. D.)

This is also by Bhimsa, the author of *Harī-Līlā*. He wrote it in V. S. 1546 as he says in the conclusion:—

संवत् पंनर रदनि वीस

पट आमळां वरस च्यालीस

इक्षिणायन वर्षाकृत सार

आमण शुद्धि दधमी गुरुवार ॥ ७२ ॥

*	*	*
*	*	*
*	*	*

कीधु एह प्रबोध प्रकाश ॥ ७४ ॥

Specimens—

Prālāpa I

(१) अमाइ नारक कोटिगं कजित सुह नाहिनाइ,

बली किशाकारणि करी कीधु तयो वपाइ ॥ ९६ ॥

(२) ग्राहि ग्राहि रतिपति कहइ

किशु एहेनु विश्वास

ये पापथका बीहई नही

करता इहं विनाश ॥ ८३ ॥

- (३) काम कहइ हैइ आंमळ
 पूम यथा सहयइं सामळा ।
 ऊंचा जइ मेघनइ भिळइं
 कुळ आपणं पळि निर्देलइ ॥ ८४ ॥
- (४) पुरुषस्वभाय अउइ असंग
 तथापि मायासरस संग ।
 तेहनइ मन तन मइ सुत सार
 कीष्टु तेणइ सकलसंसार ॥ ७२ ॥
- (५) विनेक अहानइ सगपण सही
 पिता एक माता अऊइ ॥ ७४ ॥

Praśāsa II.

- (६) भाइ विहित सुत बांधव घात ॥ ७४ ॥

We find the uncontracted स्वरगुण still potent and persistent in this period, both in the locative, dative and instrumental case-endings, e. g. आगइ, मेघनइ, तेहनइ, तेणइ, अघनइ and also in the present tense third personal singular ending, e. g. वइइ, सहवइं, मिळइ, निर्देलइ, अउइ. The instrumental इ in महिमाइ and कारणि is also noteworthy, as also the locative हैइ.

क्रिंतुं in क्रिया कारणि and क्रियु are reminiscent of similar forms in *Vasanta-vildāsa* of 38 years earlier date.

The spellings एहइ, तेहनइ, it may be noted, are loose representatives of the strictly quantitative spellings एहुउ (or हेउ), तेहनइ (or तेनइ).

The weak इ in अघनइ is also shown by the test of metre.

सगपण has the tinge of modern Gujarātī; but it simply shows that this formation dates back so far at least. विहित is a stepping stone between Pr. वहिणी and M. Gñj. वर्हन; the reversion of ण to न being noteworthy also.

The य in च्यालीस marks the Sanskrit sound of च.

I may add a few notable forms:

यागइ (future), *Praśāsa* III St 4

शीशसइ (future, passive) „

करसि (future) „

and the suffix *रेसि* (=माटे, *for* in *महोरेसि*, *Prakṛṣa* III St. 4, the *रेसि* given as a *निपात* by Hemachandra in the sense of *तादर्थ्य* (*Si. He.* VIII iv. 425) making its presence felt even at this period, and, as we find even some decades later on, as it showed itself in *Vasantar-vilāsa* four decades earlier (*मडनरेसि*, st 13)

[The Mss of this work were supplied to me by Mr Tansukharām M. Tripathī B. A. and by Mr Hiralal T. Parekh B. A. Secretary, Gujarāt Vernacular Society Ahmedabad]

(ज) *विमलप्रबन्ध* by *Lavanayasamaya gani*

(V, S 1568=1512 A. D.)

Specimens—Khanda IV

वीरमति तव पीहरि गई संपति सचली पूठिई रही ।
 साथिइ वेदउ विमलकुमार जै कीपउ माउला खुहार ॥ ६७ ॥
 आगइ भाई घरि अणाधि आवी वहिनर बेदा साथि ।
 मोटां पण मांदिइयां रलइ अन्नपान सु पूर्ण करइ ॥ ६८ ॥
 जां पोतइ दुइ दुप्य प्रकास ता घरि लपिगी लीलविलास ।
 पापतथु जव पास पढइ तव घरि कूरि कूकस अदइ ॥ ६९ ॥
 रहिउ विमल मादू खुदसालि चारइ चचउ वरुडर वादि ।
 तेणि अवसरि देवी अगिना आग्यां छि आरासणि थिकां ॥ ७० ॥
 नवपौवन नवउ संयोग देपी देवी चंछइ भोग ।
 कूंअर कहइ परनारी नीम अणपरणिइ कुहु मांनू (? माणू) किम ॥ ७१ ॥
 शील लगइ (? छसइ) तूठी अडिवा
 त्रिणि वर दीया पोतिइ थका (? थिका) ॥ ७२ ॥

Noteworthy features —

- (a) The अइ and इ endings may be perceived at a glance
- (b) The aspiration of ग into घ in सचली,
- (c) साथिइ and साथि both variants of the locative,
- (d) The absence of इ in मोटां,

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (e) मादिइया (St 68) आरासणिथिका (St. 70) पोतिइयरा (थिका) (St 72) 	}	The था evolved from स्थितर, the governing by this था, थिका, of the locative case in the main word.
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- (f) माश्च—This श्च (=with) is attached to मा almost as a termination.
- (g) वंछद्. The shortening of the आ of वा in वाञ्छति.
- (h) जां-तां. These are in the adverbial sense of 'as long as,' 'so long'. The forms are originally ablative or locative (जाम-ताम, जस्मि-तस्मि, यस्मिन्-तस्मिन्.)

(५) माधवानलदोग्धकप्रबन्ध

by Gaṇapati (a Kāyastha)

(V. S. 1584 = 1528 A. D.)

(वेद मुजंगम बाण शशी विक्रम वरस निचार)

Specimens:—*Āṅga VIII.*

(a) निरली निर्मल चंदल जगिउ अंघर रेसि ।

म कू उचारसि मरघला मम आयु चालेसि ॥ ३३ ॥

चंदनि चरखुं चंदला संतोयु शिरनामि ।

जां जीतइ तां ज (? जु) रहइ अल्ल परि एणइ ठामि ॥ ३४ ॥

(b) *Āṅga VII*

सती दीत्री सुंदरी साथ रहइ सुखहीण ।

इइ अमानि बरि गयु लेणि परि दीसइ सीण ॥ ४०६ ॥

Noticeable points—

- (1) The इ-उ-अइ endings are prominent even at the close of the sixteenth century V. S.
- (2) रेसि—This तादर्थ्य ending is hardly in the sense of "for" here; it would carry a locative idea, it seems, could it be that the original sense of रेसि was being forgotten in this later age?
- (3) जां-तां=as long as, an lang.—See note (h) in this lecture, *supra* in *Vimala-prabandha* extracts.
- (4) चालेसि
उचारसि } future; variants.
- (5) अल्ल—The इ is weak.
- (6) एणइ ठामि—The अइ and इ are really the same; इ attached to अक and to word without क.

(7) તેણિ પરિ-The *ણ* added to તે; cf.

વૈશંપાયન 'ણી' પર ચોલ્યા

in Gujarātī poetry of two or three centuries ago.

(જ) વૈતાલપંચવીસી

(V. S. 1619 = A. D. 1568)

Specimens:—

જંઘદ્વીપ માંહિ અછે ભરત છેવર સચિવાર ।

તસ મધે વહુ દેશ છે અંગ વંગ મહવાર ॥ ૧૪ ॥

તે સચિ માંહિ મૂલગુ વાર માઠવદેશ ।

તિહાં વજેણી વરનયર તિપ્રા વહિ સચિવેષ ॥ ૧૫ ॥

ઠાર્મિ ઠાર્મિ ઢાલ્યા વહિ કાચ

મૂરજ જાણે પાણી સાચ ।

મૂરજ જે નવિ જાણી ભેષ

હતારી પગમોજાં તેષ ॥ ૨૦ ॥

હેડ પિંડર્નિ મૂર્ઠિ જામ

વળકર દેલિ રાજા તામ ।

વળકર દેલી ચિતે દસું

પદ પિંડ કિહનિ દેવસ્યું ॥ ૬૮૮ ॥

The words printed in black type are typical. જાણે in one place and જાણિ in another are explainable either by the indifference of the later date scribe, or by the forms being used indifferently in the time when the book was composed; the former theory being more likely.

These specimens will suffice. We then come to Nākar (V. S. 1550 to 1630-40), Viśvanāth Jāni (V. S. 1708), Viśvanudāsa, Śivādāsa, Akho, Premānanda, Sāmala, Vallabha; but we need not spend time on linguistic extracts in their case. They mark the transition from the old to the new, and the specimens are available in published works.

We may, with advantage, turn to prose literature of the older centuries, that is available to us.

PROSE WORKS.

First of all I pick up prose passages belonging to the period between V. S. 1257 and V. S. 1497. Ohimantlāl Dalāl, from whose

report I extract these, claims them as specimens of Gujarāṭī. I gravely doubt if the language can correctly bear that name. The specimens will speak for themselves. Here they are:—

I. V. S. 1257

नयकारव्याख्यान

यउ नमस्कार अतीत अनागत चउवीस आदि जिनोक सार उ तुम्हे विते-
पहइ हियदातणइ प्रस्तामि अर्धयुक्तु ध्येय ध्यातव्य गुणेत्र पदेवउ ॥

II V. S. 1380

आलोचना (Translation)

तिणि कारणि चतुर्दश पूर्वधर चतुर्दशपूर्वसंबंधिउ ध्यातुं परित्यजिउ पंच-
परमेष्ठिनमस्कार स्मरहु तउ तुम्हि विशेषि स्मरेवउ अनइ परमेश्वरि तीर्थकरदेमि
इसउ अर्ध भणियउ अउं अनइ संसारतणउ प्रतिभउ म करिसउ अनइ ऋद्धि
नमस्कार इहलोकि संपादियइ ॥

III V. S. 1360

अतिचार (Translation)

मृपावादि सहस्रातकारि आलु अभ्याख्याउ दीपउ रहसमंत्र भेदु कीधु मृपोप-
देउ दीपउ कूडउ लेखउ लिखिउ कूडी सासि थापणि मोसउ इणइ सउ रादि
मेठि कलहु विदायिदि जु कोइ अतिचार मृपावादि प्रति भव सगळाइ मादि इइ
त्रिभिधि त्रिभिधि मिच्छा मि दुकडं ॥

IV V. S. 1449

गणितसार (Translation)

शिवु भणीइ देवाधिदेउ भट्टारकु महेश्वर किउ जु परमेश्वर कैलास-
शिपरुमंडल पार्यतीहदयरमणु विश्वनाथ जिणि विश्व नीपजाविउं तउ नमस्कार करीउ
वालावबोधनार्थ वाल भणीइ अज्ञान तीहं किहं अज्ञोष जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि
आत्मीययशोद्वयर्थ अयस्करणार्थ श्रीधराचार्य गणितु प्रकटीकतु ॥

V. V. S. 1497

संग्रहणीवालावबोध

(Date of copy V. S. 1548)

सद्गुरुकन्हलि पूछि विशेष अर्थउं सद्गुण करिवउं । जे भव्य जीव उइ तेह-
नइ ए संघयणितुं विचार कहतां कर्मधय होइ तहतणइ भव्यतणइ ए विचार जोइउं
जाणितुं जिम ते भव्यजीवनइ ऋद्धिद्वि होइ ॥

You will at once perceive that the language in these extracts resembles more or less that in the *Mugdhatābodhā Auktika*, which was composed in V. S. 1450. If I do not accept this work of V. S. 1450 as written in Gujarātī, *a fortiori* I must refuse to recognise the language of the above extracts as Gujarātī. I have already stated that it should be called *Gurjara Apabhramśa*.

Incidentally, I may point out that in some cases the above extracts disclose the style of explanatory gloss, thus, in extract IV *बाल भणी अज्ञान* stands for *बाल कहेता* (=एट्ठे, cf. *M. महुणजे* which is from *भण्-भणिज्झ-भण्यते*) *अज्ञान*, तीह किहिं stands for *तेओठ शुं* (तेपां किम्), *अवबोध जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि-* c. *अवबोध=जाणवुं*, *ते तणेअपे*, the whole being an explanation of *बालानामवबोधार्थम्*.

I must add a few more specimens of a later period, V. S. 1515 to 1571. Here they are —

VI V. S. 1515.

पडाचइयकवालावबोध by *Hemachandra*

पाडळीपुरि मगरि नंदराय हुड । तीण अनेक अकरा कर करी छोक इमी
सोनइ एमठइ मेळिंड । सोने भंडार भयां कूभा भयां सोनानी इंगरी कीपी ।

VII V. S. 1551. (Date of copy)

वृद्धचाणक्य

(a) निरंतर भर्तारनी भक्ति करइ । सतत निरंतर भक्ष भोजन करइ । अने
आपणी इच्छा क्रिया कार्प करइ । ते सर्व सौभाग्यनी वर्धनी हुइ ॥८॥

(b) येहनइ स्व आपणीइ प्रदा नहीं तेहनइ शास्त्र क करइ । यिम छोचन
नेन पालइ दर्पण आरीछ शुं करइ ॥ १३ ॥

[Note the ablative form *इच्छा* (the *anuvāda* being the indicator of that case), a formation unknown to Gujarātī proper and belonging to the *Gurjara Apabhramśa* period].

VIII V. S. 1571

अंबडकथा

हुं करवक । माहट पिता अंबड जन्मलगइ दत्तिरी निर्धनः धननइ कीपइ
सर्वत्र भमइ । मंत्र यंत्र ओषध ते धननादि घणूर करइ पण काई धन न पामइ ।
जाहु जाहु धनगिरि पर्वति श्रीगोरखयोगिनी समीपि गिउ ॥

IX V. S. 1629 or thereabouts—

चेतालपचीसी by a pupil of Hiravijaya Sâri

पळे ते लाडूभा मदि थकु कडकु एक कूतरा नइ घातिउ । ते कुतरु चउ ।
पळे ते राजा पदमावती उपरि कोण्ड । ए पाणिणीतुं संभाषि न करु । माहरा
मित्रनी मारणहार । पळे प्रधान बोळ राजा तुं तांहां जा । जइ नइ पदमावतीनी
जांघी वसल करजे । पगतं नेउर लेइ आव ॥

(P. 101; work edited by Jagajivana D. Modi)

[Note—1. घातिउ, cf. Marâthi घातलें;

2. नेउर; this is the Prâkrit form; Gujarâti corruption is नेपुट;

3. लाडूभामांहेपकु कडकु; the word थकु (थको), the precursor of the ablative termination (indeclinable) थकी in M. Gujarâti, is initially an adjectival form from रथकु (i. e. its past participial form).]

There are some who contend that this apparently pre-Gujarâti language is confined to Jain literature, religious as well as profane, and therefore it does not represent the current language of the times, because the Jain writers adopted the artificial forms and style of the Prâkrits which had disappeared long long ago. A very powerful reply to this objection has been elaborately given by Mr. Manilâl Bakorbhâl Vyâsa in his Introduction to *Vimala prabandha* edited by him. I may here urge the simple consideration that if we can show specimens of similar linguistic features in works written by non-Jain writers, the contention of these one-sided advocates can at once be demolished. As regards poetry we have seen in the specimens already given above that a great many of these are from non-Jain writers. In prose also it is easy to cite similar instances. I give only a few below:

X. V. S. 1650 (probable date of copy)—

पांडची गीता

[This is found in a collection of different Mss., bound together which I was able to look into through the courtesy of the owner Mr. Nâjavarlâl I. Desâi of the Gujarâti Press. No specific date

is noted in this *Pāṇḍava Gītā* but another Ms preceding it, written in the same hand, bears 1650 V S as the date of copying. From this and the linguistic features in the work we may safely assign to it the close of the sixteenth century as the date of composition, allowing 50 to 80 years as a possible gap between composition and transcription.]

- (a) ઘણવ કહિછિ । વાણદેવનં તજી છાંદીનિ અનિ વીજા દેવનંડ ઉપાસિ ।
તે અમ જાણવંતે યે તરછ ધુવ ગગાનિં કાઠિ કૂપ વીરડ ધળીનિ પાળી પીડછિ ॥૧૬॥
- (b) યમદગ્નિ ચોલ્યા । તે પુરુષનં સદરં ઝડવ સદાહિ ઇષ્મી તેહનિ નિલ્ય
માગલ્ય । યેહના હરંદનં વિધિ ભગવાન થી વાણદેવ વસિ ॥ ૪૭ ॥

This work is arranged thus first a *śloka* in very corrupt Sanskrit is cited and below it is given a vernacular translation of it generally correct rarely faulty. I have quoted only the vernacular translation.

XI V S 1557

भुवनदीपक (Translation)

હમર ધાતુ તમ સ્વરૂપ કહીશંદ × × × જુ પૃથક ઉપમાનાતળી પૃચ્છા કરિ
જુ જુ શરૂ કર પાવવુ સ્થાનક દેલંદ તુ કહિશંદ । પુત્રજન્મ હુશંદ । અધના દેતશંદ તુ
પુત્ર નથી । મ્યા દીશંદા તમ પૃથક ચોલીશિ ।

Note the form કહીશંદ, which correctly traceable to કહિશ્સન્દ-
વધયિષ્યતે (passive) = *will be stated* eventually in M Gujarati comes to mean 'I shall state', active form. Also note the forms કરિ (in જુ કરિ = જો કરે) and દેલંદ (in તુ દેલંદ = તો દેશે), originally present tense indicative mood (*does, sees*), are at this stage used in an indefinite sense, here is the step through which the help of છે came in during the Modern Gujarati stage to fully supply the sense of the indicative mood, a point which will be discussed at length later on.

XII about the same time as *Bhuvanadīpaka* (i.e. about V S 1557,

સામુદ્રિકશાસ્ત્ર

(Published by Mr Chhaganlal V. Raval in the *Gujarāt Śāla Patra* December 1908)

(૧) આદિ-પદિશંદ નર નમસ્કરી નર પુરુષ વીના લગ્ન વહીસિ ।

- (२) मनुष्यनइ पांच दीर्घ-छांवा जोइइ । पांच छद्म-छाहनां । जाइइ ।
 (३) जहनइ निछाडि रेखा ४ हुइ तेहनउ ८० वर्य अनइ ६ रेखा हुइ त
 १०० वर्ष आयु हुइ ।

XIII V. S. 1581.

नवतत्त्ववालावबोध

।रुतली गोली अजमा पीयली मिरी भारंगी छंठि प्रमुख द्रव्य करी ऊपनी
 हुइ त वाय ।फडइ ।

XIV V. S. 1582.

जीवतत्त्वविचार

सिद्धना जीवनइ तइ नथी योनि नथी जीव जिणवचन अणउतउ संसार
 मांहि षणं किरइ । अनइ षणं किरिसिइ ।

XV V. S. 1582.

स्वप्नाध्याय (Translation)

प्रासाद माहि जमि ससुदमाहि तरि तु गुढामनि कुठि जन्म हुइ त पण
 राजा हुइ ॥ नाम्ये चनी जनि छात्रि तु जे कोइ गमातरि गीउ हुइ ते आरी
 ऊतावउ ए विचार ॥

Note here also the indicative form turned into the indefinite
 in जमि, तरि, हुइ etc.,

XVI V. S. 1612.

अभ्यशास्त्र

सुंलि चिहु पणि ये अभ काळा हुइ त आयाग्य ते यमदूतजाणिहु । कालि
 भमरा हुइ त स्वामी नइ मारइ त । याहु क्लेशनइ ब्यारि प्रवासि मरण करइ ।

XVII V. S. 1610 (date of copy)

वैष्णवआह्निक

(*Naculagranthāvalī*, II, pp. 42-46)

पछी पूर्वाभिमुख बिशि माधुं उहोलीनि दाध पखालीए ।

काठडी पिहिली दीजि । पाटली पछी बाढीए ।

XVIII V. S. 1710 (date of copy)

रात्रिभोजनगीत

(*Gujarātī-Bhūshāno-Itihāsa*, *Trajaldī Śāstrī*, pp. 65-66)

दिवसइ रंथाइ दिवसइ जिमियइ ।

विहाणे भाजन मागसि उत्तर न दास काइ ।

I now cite some passages from the writings of Parsi authors before the formation of Modern Gujarātī.

XIX V. S. 1500 or thereabout.

(a) समस्याण बळतूं इइ रे वन वेहेत भूम छांडीइ ताइ आतस लईनि
जात कीजइ । समस्याण ठाहार सीलावा दीजि । तिहां धकी रे वन वेहेत भूम
छांडीइ । नवीजोत कीजि । जोतमांहिउ आतस लई तालगि जोत कीजि । तां लगि
आगली जोतउ ठाहार सीलाइ । तिहां धकु लईनि पात्रि मेळवीइ बीजी जोत कीर्था
अछि तिहांउ ठाहार सीलाइ । तां लगि पात्रि रहिवा दीजि । ने तीवार पछी सदस
जोत प्रमाण इइ ॥

(This is an extract from a Ms. written by a Parsi name Bahram Lakhmīdhara in V. S. 1507. It is a ritualistic prescription for kindling the sacred fire. The word ठाहार in this extract is obviously a mistake for छाहार (छार from Skr. छार=ashes). छाह सीलाइ and छाह सीलावा दीजि, meaning 'the ashes get cool', 'and allow the ashes to cool.')

(b) मइ पूछारं जत रंईं क्षीताणं तनउं' करीरइ' करसउं' पातक कीधउं'
जीणइ' पापकरी' आत्मारहिं इसउ दोहिलउ निग्रहः कीजइ अडि ।

(Extract from a Ms. of *Ardā-Gīra* in the possession of Mr. Behramgur T, Anklesaria of Santa-Cruz (Bombay); the concluding colophon shows that it was copied in V. S. 1507 at Navasāri (Nāgasārīkā).

(c) पुण्यमर्थीं गाथाउ तओरहिं नमस्कारहु । प्रत्युत्तरवांणी होमिगदतणीं
प्रकृष्टवाणीं पूछवा तणीं जरपुभ तणीं ॥ १ ॥ छंदर ते भलो पिहरहिं केतलाइ
महुप्यउ शुभ कल्याण वर्तइ । कि इसइ साचइ केतलाइ महुप्यउ पिहरहिं शुभ
कल्याणउ कल्याण । वहुं एक छि । ते इम बोळइ खु शुभ भहुं सहुं नि दीनितणु
रीपुं इइ । रीनि तसि चहु कहुं रहिं शुभ कल्याण ॥

(Gujarātī translation of Sanskrit text of *Ijāni* (Yajna); see Notes, p. 15 of this work, published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchāyat Funds.)

The language of these extracts is obviously of a period before or after 1500 V. S. The peculiar dative form made up by the application of the suffix रहि (used abundantly in these translations) is very significant. It appears in the *Mugdhabodha Auktika* (V. S. 1450) very frequently, and is seen in Gujarati literature of the period about V. S. 1500.

We have surveyed above the evolution of the Gujarati language by looking at typical specimens of works of different periods, ranging from the eleventh century to the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era. In examining these specimens critically, the broad tests to be applied will be these:—

- (A) The distinctive phonetic features of the several stages of this evolution;
- (B) Psychological shiftings in grammatical forms;
- (C) The analytical or synthetic nature of the forms marking the several periods;
- and (D) The presence and frequency or prominence of certain special words distinctive of a period.

A. First test; distinctive phonetic features of the several linguistic stages. We shall deal with each of these tests in fixing the course and stages of evolution of Gujarati.

(क) First, then, we have (excluding the pre-Apabhramśa, i. e. Prākṛit stage) the Apabhramśa stage. Its characteristic features are:—

- (a) Preserving the र in a conjunct;
- (b) The interpolation of र and thereby creating a conjunct, where such र does not exist;
- (c) The change of र to रि ;
- (d) The irregularity of gender, marked in *Sl. Ho. VIII-iv-445*;
- (e) The free use of the र suffix;
- (f) The suffix र attached to nouns generally, but even to indeclinables and even verbs;

- (g) Special forms like मद्धारउं, तुद्धारउं, अम्द्धारउं, तुम्द्धारउं, special *ādesas* like कण, काहं, तण, केर etc.

- Remarks: (a) and (b) This feature has continued far into Gujarātī and yielded words like प्रगट, on the one hand, and on the other, such words as करोड (one crore), पडहुं, सराण &c. noted in *Utsarga* I (प्रथेप), Section III of Lecture IV in the first volume of this work of mine,
- (c) This feature has been noticed *supra* in Vol. I, Lecture IV, Section III *Utsarga* XVII, to mark its continuation into Gujarātī.
- (d) This feature has extended into Gujarātī, which has मित्र (masc.), वृध (neuter), उत्तर (masc.), पांख (fem.), भोदय (fem.), पत्र=a letter (masc.) &c., altering the original gender in Sanskrit.
- (e) This feature has yielded in Gujarātī the ओ and ई endings of nouns (masc. and neuter respectively); see *supra* Vol. I, Lecture IV, Section I, *Utsarga* II;
- (f) This suffix is generally regarded as the evoluto of, or rather a substitute for, the Skr. suffix क; but Dr. Tesaitori has very suggestively pointed a conjectural ट suffix as the original of this ट. This ट suffix figures largely in Gujarātī poetry e. g. माही, सादेल्दी, मुखहुं, &c. and in a few cases in Gujarātī prose e. g. in म्होहुं, त्दोहुं, रमवहुं &c..
- (g) These specialities are connecting links between Apabhramśa and Gujarātī, e. g. the genitive forms म्दाहुं &c.; the genitive terminations तयं, छं, केहुं; and the pronouns कण, and वं, in Gujarātī.

(ख) Post-Apabhramśa's stage.

(१) Earlier Period.

- (a) Simplification of the conjunct, accompanied by the lengthening of the preceding short vowel;
- (b) Softening of the nasal, with the lengthening of the preceding short vowel;

- (c) Dropping of the unaccented initial syllable,
 (d) The use of *हे* virtually as a termination to denote the sense of the present tense indicative mood;
 and (e) The retention of the स्वरपुग्ग-*contactual vowels*—अइ-अउ uncoalesced.

(२) Later Period.

In addition to the above—

- (a) The change of अइ-अउ to ए-ओ respectively,
 (b) The change of non final इ-उ to अ,
 (c) The change of स्र to स्, when it is in contact with ह, प or फ,
 (d) The change of ioterialic स्र to स्,
 and (e) The substitution of अस् for इप् in the formation of the passive voice.

The period of pure Apabhramśa has already been shown as lasting upto the first half of the eleventh century of the Christian era—the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. This statement, be it remembered, is with reference to the language spoken by the people, as book language Apabhramśa appears to have lasted upto the end of the twelfth century A. D. (=the middle of the thirteenth century Vikrama era) Thereafter gradually the language of Gujarati passed on into the several stages which I shall indicate soon below. The characteristic feature of the Apabhramśa stage need not, therefore detain us and we may deal with those of the post Apabhramśa stage—its earlier as well as its later period.

Post Apabhramśa stage, two periods

Earlier Period.—(१)—(a)

Earlier Period

The simplified conjunct

We have traced the germs of this change back to Hemachandra's time and earlier and still further back to Panini's time (see *supra* Vol I, Pp 391-392)
The Simplified conjunct
 But as a distinctive feature this principle belongs to the post-Apabhramśa period undoubtedly. The time of the

Mugdharabodha Auktika (V S 1400) marks the simplified conjunct as fully established its faint beginnings are visible in V S. 1363 (कटूनीरस specimen No (5) *supra*) till it eventually has a free play in V S 1412 (गीतमरस specimen (6) *supra*) and finally in less than four decades thereafter it has full play as a dominant feature (V S 1400 *Mugdharabodha Auktika* and thereafter)

We come across some apparent exceptions in literature a good deal subsequent to the *Mugdharabodha Auktika*, for instance *Vimala prabandha* (V S 1568) has forms like अगलि (VII 36) लग्गीइ (II 5) धप्पइ धरिउ, अप्पिउ लग्गीइ (I 91) But against अगलि we have अगलि लग्गीइ अगइ also (I 92) and लग्गीइ is evidently an error for लग्गीइ as the word it rhymes with is मागीइ while the last four words (धप्पइ etc) are found in वस्तुउद, a composition in Jain poetry which aims at a classical appearance and as such naturally adopts in an artificial manner the obsolete Prākṛit formations. Against these exceptions there are numerous cases of simplified conjunct in this *Prabandha* e.g. लग्ग मागइ (IV 40) अगइ (IV 94) and I suspect the apparent exceptions are the result of defective editing or errors of the overlearned scribe

(b) *Softening of the nasal*

(1) — (b) This feature is of the same type inherently as (1) — (a) and calls for no detailed notice

(1) — (c) *Dropping of the unaccented initial syllable*

This process, no doubt it as old as the hills. We find its germs in the Prākṛit period and further back in the Sanskrit period (*vide supra* p 372 of Vol I) and we can go still farther far away into pre Sanskrit times (*supra* pp 471-472), *argentum* (Lat) and रजतम् Skt being traceable to a common source) But for a full and established sway of the principle we must come to the post *Apabhramsa* stage. The most noticeable and time fixing word is वरसइ (उवसइ-उवविपति) We can at a glance into the specimens given above see that this change was in full swing about the time of

Gautama-Rāsa, V. S. 1412. (Specimen No. (6) above, pp. 12-13 *supra*); of course earlier stages will show the start of the change. I note this period as prominently marked by this principle.

(1)—(d) *The use of છે virtually as a termination.*

In this I take છે as representing all its forms in number and person; viz: છે, ડિયે; છે, ડો; છે. (હું લખું, હમે છે used as a લખિયડિયે; તું લખેડે, રહમે લખોડો; તે લખેડે, તેઓ લખેડે). It may also be noted that this feature is confined to the present tense, indicative mood.

I regard this છે as a termination in Gujarātī, and not, as some scholars view it, as an auxiliary verb (उपक्रियापद, as they call it). My reasons are:—

- (a) છે in forms like લખેડે &c. has lost its individual and independent status as a word;
- (b) It has no verbal sense, but only indicates the time and the mood sense.

We must remember that a large number of terminations were originally independent words which in course of time got reduced in form and function. છે in this position (લખેડે etc.) is one such.

How this has happened may be inquired into with interest; લખેડે is Skr. लिखति अस्ति, Pr. लिहइ अत्थि, Ap. लिहइ (or लिखइ) अत्थइ, Gurjara Ap. लिखइ अत्थ (ઉત્થ). Now, obviously અસ્તિ to અત્થ yield a repetition of the idea of existence, time, person, number &c.. लिखति अस्ति would be bad Sanskrit, so also the rest bad grammar. Until the advent of the ઉત્થ-અત્થ type, the form लिहइ (लिखइ) conveyed the full sense. But in course of time, its power to express the full idea of existence, time, &c. was exhausted, and लिखइ-લખે assuming an indefinite sense (as in M. Guj. લખે is indefinite and not indicative mood—it is something like a conditional mood form), the indicative mood present tense idea had to be supplied by some other means, and ઉત્થ, છે came in as a help or support, to finish that complete sense.

*Hindi, Marāṭhī
and other idioms
compared and
contrasted*

This peculiar grammatical evolution in M. Gujarati may, with interest, be compared and contrasted with forms in other allied languages

used to convey the same idea. Thus —

Hindi—बोलता है, Marāṭhī—बोलत आहे (some times simply बोलतो where really आहे is to be taken as present),

Suratī Rural Gujarātī—बोलतो છે. Bengali has a similar form रजनी “धीरे, धीरे, जले नामिते છે” आकाशविहारिणी गंगा धीरे, धीरे, वहिते છે”

(*Rajani*, by Bankima Chandra Chattarji. Book IV, Chap. V. para 2)

In all these cases the literal sense is *speaking is*, i. e. *is speaking*, the forms बोलता, बोलत, बोलतो, नामिते, वहिते being present participles.” Thus the Suratī rural form बोलतो છે is psycholo-

25 Bengali has also the type (সি) নামে=he descends, and this is the type without the છે support and with the তি termination (i. e. its evolution) in full possession of its potency. It is believed that the করিতে છે type is an artificial form coined by pedants who discarded colloquialisms like নামে છે, যাবে છે &c. as too vulgar for literary forms. So I am told by a Bengali expert, Mr. Chārn Bandyopādhyaya, Lecturer in Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta University. But on further questioning him as to what he meant by ‘coined’ form, he informs me that নামে છે (East Bengal), নামে છે (North Bengal) and নামে છે (West Bengal), are the various types in vogue, and that out of these dialectic variations the নামে છે type was created artificially to suit the taste of all the parts of Bengal, and it was regarded as the literary form, which is found in use from the very earliest extant books. *Sūrya purāṇa* &c. He adds that this ‘artificial’ form preponderates in the literature of East Bengal, as against that of West Bengal because this form is much nearer their own spoken dialectic form (নামে છે), and that this form was made universal by the Fort William College Pandits. I am highly indebted to Mr. Chārn Bandyopādhyaya for this extremely interesting history of the করিতে છે type. It enables me to come to the conclusion (especially from the fact noted in the italicized sentence above), that far from being an “artificially coined form the করিতে છે type is but historically the true form out of which various dialectic forms the *patois*

gically more correct than the general Gujarati form **बोलेछे** which inherently involves a tautology like *speaks is*. Yet the force of idiom makes the general Gujarati use (**बोलेछे**) classical for the tautology is not present when the original power of the representative of the **ति** termination in **बोले** is exhausted. In fact **बोले** in **बोलेछे** assumes the position of an incomplete idea like the present participle **बोलतो**.

It may be noted that such apparent and inherent psychological tautology plays an important part in the formation of idiom in a language.

The psychological tautology in करेछे compared with that in the conjunctive participle

Take an instance from Gujarati the **एवन्ति** form : e the indeclinable past participle of verbs e.g. **करिने**, involves a similar or worse psychological blunder.

For **करिने**, if analysed, means **करि**=*having done* plus **ने**=*and, having done*, and the idea of *and* here is really implied in the idea presented by *having done*, 'having done it he went away' (**ए करी-ए जतो रघो**) being equal to 'he did it and he went away' (**ए हेने करुं अने ए गयो**). This **स्वी** termination is called a *conjunctive* participle by Dr Tessitori, this is very appropriate in view of the "and" idea conveyed by it. Therefore the word *and* is superfluous in *having done and*, yet the force of idiom makes **करिने** a correct form, and the thought steps are something like these —

करि=*having done*, then the speaker's mind pauses for the next idea and in catching the latter loses sight of the idea of *and* implied in the previous expression, and so takes hold of **ने** (=and) as a support a link.

This psychological process of halting and marching with the help of a new prop is accentuated in cases like the following —

were evolved, and that all that has happened is that the Pandits only revived, if at all, (certainly not *concocted*), the old type **करिसेछे** by the truly scientific method of seeing the common principle running through all the dialectic variations a principle supported by actual use in oldest works and downwards. To be correct, it was not a revival but merely a recognition of classical against the *patois* type.

वासुदेवः तज्जी छाडीनि अनि बीजा देवनः उपासी :

(*Pāṇḍavī Gītā*, date of copy V S 1650 probably)

The repetition in नि and अनि is apparently a flagrant tautology. But it serves to indicate forcibly the direction and shape of the thought-process involved therein. This double tautology is perhaps accountable by the fact that the sentence is part of a commentary like explanation of an original Sanskrit text hence the writer says छाडीनि to explain तज्जी a translation of the original परिहृत्य in the text²⁶ and then passing on to the next idea again takes hold of अनि, in short the first नि (in छाडीनि) has lost its "and" sense and merges into the partial तच्चा sense in छाडी, and hence the new अनि²⁷.

26 वासुदेवः परिहृत्य योऽन्यदेवमुपासतेः तृपितो जाद्वनवीतीरे कृप खनति दुर्मति ॥६॥

27 Dr Tessitori regards this ने (नि-नः) as a locative post position (vide his 'Notes' § 131, p. 86 (middle)). It is difficult, even after reading all his arguments, to fit नः as a locative post position into the preceding past participial form (as he regards it), करी-being traced by him to करिषु (कृत), and करि the locative thereof. It is not at all necessary to adopt such a roundabout and defective theory. The instance छाडीनि अनि given by me above from *Pāṇḍavī Gītā* will at once dispose of the theory of ने being a locative post-position, as the अनि here is a clear instance of 'and' being intended to connect the ideas. The easiest explanation is this just as the O. W. Raj त्वान्त् in एनि (e.g. भगेवि, पदेवि, etc.) can be traced back to the त्वा termination in Skr., so the alternative form in इय (चालिय, मारिय etc. wherein Dr. Tessitori regards the य as pleonastic, quite needlessly, I think), can be looked upon as a remnant of the Skr. य termination for रक्, प्रणम्य, by scara bhakti—मणमिय, पणमिय, पणमिम, the condition that an upasarga alone would require य for त्वा being slackened and the same termination (य) being applied even when there is no upasarga, thus giving करिय, चालिय, मारिय etc.

[Epic literature displays a free men of the apparent license of applying य (for त्वा) even when the root is not united with an upasarga see Vālmiki's Rāmdayana —

(1) अथ तौ रजनौमुष्य विषामिनो महादरा ।

(*Bdla Adh. ta*, XXV II, 1)

A deeper examination will show that just as in the case of करेछे the portion करे has exhausted its original significance, even so in

(2) निरस्त कृद्व्य मारीच रामो रुद्वगममवीत् ।

(Ibid, XXX, 20)

(3) इत्युक्त्वा परमप्रोतो गृह्य राम सद्यमगम् ।

(*Samlshipta Rdmdyana*, edited by C. V. Vaidya, *Bāla Kānda*, Sarga VII)

(4) औपवाहं रमं योज्य

(Ibid, *Ayodhya Kānda*, Sarga X)

Dr. Hopkine (*The Great Epic of India*, pp 261-263) shows that this and other apparent licenses are really cases of borrowings from the current Prākṛite, for as he pathily observes, "metre enpassees Sanskrit grammar not not gremmer altogether. ++ Where Sanskrit grammar fails, the poets had recourse to patois" (p. 262) His reason is that such cases occur "only when the metre requires them" (p. 263), and, amongst other instances, cites the case of गृह्य for गृहीत्वा in स नु बाहुसइलेण वहाद् गृह्य दयाननम् । (vii, 32, 64) (pp. 263 and 205). Thus, the later Prākṛit termination इय (इम) is traceable to the older dialectic form in य.

I get, to me hitherto unexpected, support from Dr. Bhāndārkar who in his "Lectures" (p. 117) traces the Śāraśent इम to the Skr. य, I only go a step further and see the operation of *vara bhakti* in this matter]

(The Apabhramsa termination for त्वा is इठ, as given by Hemachandrea (*S. Hc.* VIII iv 439), इम being confined to Prākṛit proper by him as also by Mirkandeya (*Prākṛita sarasra* IV-37) for Mshārāshīri)

Some scholars regard this ने (in करीने &c.) not as the conjunctive 'and' but merely as a superfluous participle without any significance. This is inconceivable, if we remember that all the parts in a syntactical utterance symbolize an underlying thought-principle. The नो in Hindi of के where we have न in each case may at first sight support these scholars e.g. प्रीत लगायके जीरा लुमायके देडे नायके दूर; but the के here really takes the place of some conjunctive word like ने (Guj.), or is representative of कर Hindi which also is in use e.g. लेकर आओ, where the कर is but a reduction of करी (करिभ), itself a conjunctive participle from कर=to do, लेकर being=taking+doing (that). This करि was in vogue in O. W. R. (Tessitori "Notes" § 131), but I do not regard it as a mere postposition as Dr. Tessitori does.

કરીને the 'and' sense is exhausted in કરી by itself and hence the support of ને. This will be clear if we consider the following: કૂરામાંથી પાણી કાઢીને પીધું; if ને were not used કાઢી પીધું would show how mutilated કાઢી is, not being able to indicate the "and" idea; કાઢી પીધું would be halting and lame. Similarly રાંધી જાયું and રાંધીને જાયું.

The idiom of adding ને to the ક્વાન્ત form can be traced far back upto the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era. e. g.

(1) મેદેલીની in Bhāṇa's *Kādambarī* (*Pārva. bhāga*); V. S. 1550 or thereabouts—

(See specimen (૪) *supra*.)

(2) નાચે ચઢી અનિ ચાલિ—*Śropādhyāya* V. S. 1582.

(3) દેવનમસ્કરી નઃ પુરપણીનાં ઇચ્છન કઢીસિ—*Sāmudrika Śāstra*, V. S. 1557.

(4) ઇદ્દનદ; જોડીનદ—*Sitāhorāṇo*; st. 75, 74; V. S. 1520.

(5) પીતીનદ—*Kāṅkaḍade-probandho*, I-111; V. S. 1512.

To return to છે and its use as a help to replace the exhausted function of the precedent form;—it may be interesting to compare the place of અસ્તિ in Sanskrit in the peculiar idiomatic use in sentences like the following:—

The idiom indicated in અસ્તિ used as અહમ્ compared,

(a) અસ્તિ સિદ્ધઃ પ્રતિપસ્યતિ સમ

Panchatantra,—(4);

(b) અસ્ત્યન્ નગરે ત્રયઃ પુરવા દેવમ્ય ધિયં ન સહન્તે ।

(*Mudrārākṣasa* 1, 5.)

(c) અસ્તિ પૂર્વમહં મ્યોમચારી વિચાચરોઽમયમ્

(*Kathāsaritsāgara*, 22, 50, 1, 27)

This use, however, takes અસ્તિ as a mere expletive or it means something like the expressions "It is thus," or "there" (as in English—"there was a man in Benares"). A better analogy is to be found in the use of અસ્મિ in sentences like the following:—

(d) दासे कृतागसि भवत्पुचितः प्रभूणां
पादप्रहार इति छन्दरि नास्मि दूये ।

(quoted by Mallinātha somewhere)

(e) त्वामस्मि वच्मि विदुषां समवायोऽत्र तिष्ठति ॥
(*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*)

(f) अन्यत्र यूयं कुसुमावचायं
कुरुधमत्रास्मि करोमि सह्यः ।

(*Kārya-pralāpa* III-20)

Here, अस्मि दूये, अस्मि वच्मि and अस्मि करोमि present a clear tautology which is explained away by the idiomatic fiction that अस्मि in such cases simply stands for अहम्. I do not know how this idiom arose in Sanskrit, and it is distinguishable from the idiom which gives the type करेछे in Gujarātī in that the element of exhaustion of expressive power in the termination is absent in the case of the Sanskrit idiom.

When did this use of छे as a virtual termination begin ?

Śāstri Vrajalāl Kālīdās tells us (*Utsarga-mālā*, p. 74, edition of 1870 A. D.) :—
The earliest beginning of the type करेछे from about 1500 V.S. “संवत् १४००ना सैका पछी गुजरे भाषामां क्रियापदने छेडे प (i.e. अस्) घातुनो अपवश ‘छे’ मूकवानो चाल छे. प सैकाओ पूरे जे ग्रथो लखाया छे तेमां प अपवश मूकेलो नथी. गुजरे भाषानी कवितामां तो अयापि मूकता नथी. एने उपक्रियापद बहेछे. एना आ प्रमाणे प्रयोग छे याति=जाइ=जायछे. कोचति=कोचइ=कोचेछे.”

Also he tells us (*Gujarātī Bhāṣā-no Itihāsa* p. 32, edition of A. D. 1866).—

“द्वयां क्रियापदने छेडे संस्कृत ‘अस्ति’ क्रियापदं प्राकृत सहायकारक क्रियापद ‘छे’ बोलायछे ते संवत् १५००ना सैकानी पूरे बोलातुं नहि. यणा प्राचीन गुजराती ग्रंथ पुस्तकोमां प सहायकारी क्रियापद नथी तथा प्राचीन कवितामां पण लखुं नथी.”

This testimony from a Śāstri devoted to research in the field of Prākṛit and Gujarātī literature is of real value. The only pity is that he uses the expressions—१४००नो सैको, १५००नो सैको in a loose way; and that when he really means the छे in the type करेछे (where only the छे is reduced to the position of a termination) he uses the

wide term, उपक्रियापद and सहायकारक (or कारी) क्रियापद i.e. auxiliary verb,—terms which would include forms like आच्यो છે, આચ્યો હતો, આચ્યો હશે &c., where the position of the auxiliary word is not quite that of a termination.

I pick out some instances from old literature and arrange them below in a backward chronological order:—

(1) V. S. 1029 *Vaṭṭā pañcaviṭī* (prose) is full of this use of છે; e.g. વસઈ છે (p. 96.), જાડેઈ (p. 97); કદઈ છે (p. 101); દેહુંઈ (p. 105); વાટે છે, આહુંઈ, જાયઈ (p. 111); રહઈ, જુવઈ (p. 112); માગઈ (p. 115); જાઈ (p. 152); મુકિઈ, બોલિઈ, વહઈ, કરઈ (p. 174); જાયઈ (p. 181).

2. V. S. 1619. *Vaṭṭā Pañcaviṭī* (poem). આંઈ (p. 23); માંગેઈ (p. 26).

(Note:—In (1) at p. 92 I find જાય, જાયે, without the છે in the sense of જાયે.)

3. V. S. 1508 *Vimala-prabandha*.

જાણડે છે (VI. 90);

કરઈ છે (VI-98).

4. V. S. 1550 Bhāṣa's *Kaddambarī* (*pūrva bhāga*).

28. જૂઈ રે જન (X, 1.7)

પરદેશી જે અથ આપ્યા ફેરવિછિ દાસ (XI, 1.22)

મિત્ર પામિવા તપ કરિછિ (XIV, 1.127);

કાદંબરી કૂં કરિછિ (XXI, 1.196);

एकनि दिछि मान (XXIII, 1.89);

अहिं सांभलिछि गान (Do., 1.90);

एक सखीनि प्रेरिछि (Do., 1.91);

इन्द्र जेहनि आपिछि कर (VII, 1.70).

(5) V. S. 1529 *Daśama Skandha* by Keśaradās.

अति प्राप्त भय जीव बलेछे (Sarga XXII, St. 10)

28. I need not repeat that the forms in इ ending instead of भइ ending do not belong to Bhāṣa's period, but to the period of the scribe.

- (6) About V. S. 1515 *Shalāraṣyaḷa Balaṭabodha* by Hemalansa,

(The Ms was copied in V. S. 1616, but the author flourished about V. S. 1515, for he wrote *Nyāya Maṇḍuṣha* in that year.)

वहइ छइ (p 71 4 in the Ms)

वहइ छइ (p. 13 in the Ms)

कीजइ छइ (elsewhere in the same Ms, my note omits the page),

- (7) V S 1512 *Kāṇha lade prabandha*.

चापीयछि (passive), चानिछि, करिछइ, चानिछइ, हुइछि.

(*Nagara rarnana*—prose passage in Khanda III)

(Note—This passage, as also the only other prose passage (entitled *Bhatuḷi*) appear to me to be interpolations of a later period than the work itself. They come in between the poetical stanzas almost as intruders in the context, the Bhatuḷi besides, is distinctly of the nature of an explanatory gloss, which cannot therefore form part of the text and it contains repetitions of the poetical portion.]

- (8) V. S. 1507 *Arḍi Geirā* (or *Virāḍ-nāma*), which belongs to the Parsi literature of the time

कीजइ भछि (passive), in दोहइ निग्रइ कीजइ भछि (See *supra* passage XVII (b) quoted from the work) ²⁹

We have before us sufficient material in the typical group of instances noted above. These are on the positive side noting the

29 The Gujarāṭi version of another Sanskrit work by Parsis (*Skanda Gamāni Gujarā*) shows the करे छे type in several places

तेवी घणा प्रकार छि जुम पाईं थाइछि ॥ ३८ ॥

तेहेने जोईछुं । सोधू छुं ॥ ३६ ॥

जे जोवानि किधू उयम करिछे ॥ ४३ ॥

(Notes in the work published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds p 63 Col 1)

This translation has no date given to it. The change of भइ into इ (करिछि) and similar features would place the translation somewhere in the eighteenth century. Hence I have excluded these extracts from the instances in the text.

actual use of the કરે type. The negative side is equally suggestive. Before V. S. 1500 we fail to come across this કરે type. Narasinha Mehta (approximately from V. S. 1470 to 1537) does not use this type, as far as my search discloses, but has invariably the કરે type (which, no doubt, was written as કરહ in his own days). I give only a few instances —

(1) રવિશશી કોટિ નલચંદ્રિકામાં વસે (Gujarātī Press Edition of Narasinha Mehta's poems, p. 489, pada 19);

(2) ઝવમાં અટપડા ભોગ માસે (do. p. 485, pada 42);

(3) તે જ હું તે જ હું શબ્દ બોલે

(4) સોનાના પાલળા માંહિ છૂલે

(5) અરધ ઝરખની મદિ માહાલે

(6) પ્રેમના તંતમાં સંત જ્ઞાલે (do. pp. 184-5, pada 39);

(7) ઇંદાવન કેલ કરે કાદાનો (do. p. 596, pada 64);

(8) રાતા અંબીલ ડહાડે ગોપી (do. p. 528, pada 89);

(9) માઝની મોહ ઝપજાવે રે

(10) નેહ નેળામાં ઝળાવે રે

(11) ગાંધર્વ ગાન હરાવે રે

(&ca. &ca. (eight verbs) (do. p. 220, pada 168);

(12) છલની મોરલી શ્રવણ કરે

(13) હરિચ્છ જોવા હરચ મરે

(do. p. 219, pada 187);

(14) કમકતે કાંસરે તાલી દે તારણી (do. p. 218, pada 183);

(15) તાલ મૃદંગ રસવેણુ ઘાજે

(16) માનની છલ ધળો મહાર છાજે

(17) જાણે ધન દામની ચમકે ભારી (do. p. 217, pada 181);

(18) નાય નાચે શિર મુટ્ટ તે મટ્ટકતો

(19) કર તળાં કંકળાં ચલકે પૂરી (do. p. 217, pada 182);

(20) કરણે હુમમ વિષવિષ ઘાલે

(21) શિરમદિ ધળાં છોસે રે

(do. p. 64, pada 16)

These are but a few instances out of numerous ones available. They will furnish a sufficient indication.

[Against these instances of the करे type in Narasinha Mehta I am shown:—

(a) a poem out of an unpublished collection of Narasinha Mehta's poems (date of Ms. unknown) in the possession of Mr. Natavarhlal L. Desai of the "Gujarati" Press, which contains the करे type of form in luxuriance; also in the same collection the same type appearing in about a dozen instances, picked out at random;³⁰

and (b) the same type (करे) in the printed works of Narasinha Mehta (Gujarati Press edition) in a considerable number of instances (about fifty), thus.—

	Page	Pada	line
दाखेछे	79	10	6
वारेछे	82	15	1
पखाजेछे	91	31	215
पीरसेछे	91	33	227
बोहेछे	91	33	228

30 For instance.—

देव देखेछे p. 30 (मलार राग)

शु कहेछे बनमाली रे p. 3 (मालव राग)

ताली देखे हाथेरे p. 3 („)

&c.

The whole poem referred to above is as under.—

राग रामग्रीतुं कीर्तन

मारा, बालाजीशु रुद्धे मारे बाजेछे.

हरख भराणी नें रमझम चालें, मारे पाओलीये नेपुरियां बाजेछे. मारा० १

सैंथो फुली नाकें नववेसर, निलवट टीलडी विराजेछे;

हाथें चुडी ने दीशुंरुं रुडी, गोकणे घुघरडी बाजेछे. मारा० २

आ यौनमां हरिवर रुडो, अवर दीठे दिल दासेछे;

नारसीयाचा स्वामी संग्य रमतां, जे बोळुं ते छाजेछे. मारा० ३

देळे	92	33	229
नाखेळे	92	33	233
निरखेळे	93	34	255
&c	&c	&c	

THIS apparently huge phalanx of an opposing army need not alarm us. Let us look at the facts in the face. The type comes into sight certainly sometime after 1500 V. S., in 1450 V. S., i. e. twenty years before Narasinha Mehta's birth, the करे type reigned supreme and alone (*Vide Mugdhārabodha Auktika*). Then again the करे type in Narasinha Mehta is not limited to the few instances cited by me, it flourishes in equal, if not greater, luxuriance, with the opposing instances shown us, and the करेळे type established itself long after 1500 V. S. Add to this the recognised facts —

(1) that we possess no Mss. of Narasinha Mehta's works older than two or three centuries from now

(2) that the extreme popularity of Narasinha Mehta's works, the handing down of them by oral tradition supplemented by the writing of them according as the taste and fancy and the limitations of learning of the writers inclined them the liberties taken by scribes, age after age with the text their ignorance, &c.,—all these factors have combined to present the poems in a form far from faithful to the original composition of the poet's time;

and (2) That even spurious pieces have often been passed off by their composers as those of Narasinha, Mira, Kabir and such other well known old poets

In these circumstances I would look upon these instances with grave doubts as to their genuineness. There is really nothing to prevent the possibility of the text containing रे, or ले, or ए, for छे in many of these instances, or दृ for छ in cases like दीखुं. In the piece cited above, or इच्छुं in the line इयामना चरणमां इच्छुं मरण रे in the celebrated and sublime poem beginning निरख ने गयनमां

काग घूमी रह्यो etc.. In fact इच्छं हूँ (or दीछं हूँ) to my ear sounds more like Narasinha Mehta than does इच्छं or दीछं.

The only other theory which could synthesize the opposing arguments that can be suggested is that Narasinha Mehta's was a period of transition from the करे type to the कोछे type, and hence the appearance of both the types in his poems. I am however not inclined to accept this theory as consonant with probabilities.]

Going about a quarter of a century before the birth of Narasinha Mehta we find in V. S. 1450 the *Mugdharabodhā Aulīla* telling the same tale, a significant negative. I pick out only a few out of many instances of the करे type.

- (1) वीतराग वांछिर दीइ । (वीतरागो वांछितं ददाति)
- (1) चेतु कट्ट करइ । (चैत्रः कटं करोति)
- (3) चेतु छोरुसिउं वात करइ । (चैत्रः छोक्रेण सार्धं सह समं साकं वा वार्त्ता करोति)
- (4) विरेकिउ मोक्षनइ कारणि खयइ । (विरेकी मोक्षाय यतते)
- (5) दृढतउ पान पडइ । (दृढात् पर्णं पतति)
- (6) गुरुतणउं वचन हउं सांमलउं । (गुरुणां वचनं अं शुभोमि)
- (7) चैत्र ग्रामि वसइ । (चैत्रो ग्रामे वसति)
- (8) शिष्य शास्त्र पढी अर्यं पूछइ । (शिष्यः शास्त्रं पठित्वा अर्थं पृच्छति)
- (9) करसणी हल खेदतउ योज चाचइ । (कर्पकः हलं खेदयन् कृपन् वा बीजं वपति)
- (10) छत्रपारि कीजतउं प्रसाद लोक देखइ । (छत्रपारेण क्रियमाणं प्रासादं लोकः पश्यति)

Thus, while from after 1500 V. S. downwards there is a gradual beginning and growth of the कोछे type, we find no such type during the period before 1500 V. S.. Expressions like भणियउ अउइ found in *Atoyapā* (V. S. 1330) need not be taken as relating this view, for भणियउ अउइ represents भणितः अस्ति (भण्यो छे), not भण्येछे which (present tense indicative) is the type we are concerned with. We can thus safely conclude that the use of छे as a termination (कोछे type) started after 1500 V. S. (or about 1500 V. S.), but was rare at first; and that its established use came at a much later period, when कट्ट entirely lost its power to

express the pure present tense. The view I expressed in my presidential address at the *Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad* (May 1915) is thus born out by the examination of the materials made above. I said there —

“This type appears to have found its way very long after V S 1400. Bhalana (a poet who flourished after V S 1495 i. e. 1500) uses in his *Kadamhari* the form *दीसिडि*, works composed during the period about V S 1500 such as the *Kanhadade-prabandha* do not appear to use *डि* as an उपबिद्यापद. It is after V S 1700 that such use is very frequent. This point can be settled after a patient inquiry. But this much is certain that this form came into vogue after 1500 V S.”

(Report of the Fifth *Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad*
pp. 25-26 of the Presidential Address.)

What was tentatively advanced then receives, I believe, a sure confirmation by the patient inquiry then suggested and now carried out. The inquiry is a little difficult because as a rule this type finds place generally in prose writings and comparatively very rarely in poetry and Gujarātī literature upto the last hundred years abounds in poetry whereas prose works are few and far between. I have already remarked besides, that even at present Gujarātī poetry adheres to the *को* type and almost studiously eschews the *कोरु* type.³¹

(1)-(e) *The retention of the स्वरयुग्मस-अइ-अउ uncoalesced*

This feature has lasted late upto the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Vikrama era whereafter these *अइ-अउ* retained intact contactual vowels merged together and assumed the forms *ए-ओ* respectively. This I am at once dealing with in the next clause (2) *Later Period*-(a), and hence I dismiss this question with this brief remark as also the remark that this item (e) and item (2)-(a) need not be taken together so as to come into mutual conflict. In short (1)-(e) slides into (2)-(a) and so far the terms in addition to the above, mentioned with reference to the features of the later period (at p. 53 above) do not apply to this particular feature.

³¹ See *supra* p. 38, remark on (b).

Later Period

(२)-(a) *The change of अइ-अउ to ए-ओ.*

As I have already pointed out, this change passed through gradual stages of अइ-अउ इ-उ, and finally established itself into ए-ओ, during this transition we find अइ and इ (and अउ-उ) occasionally running together as is not unnatural in phonetic evolution. In fixing the approximate period for the final evolution, we are concerned with ए-ओ when fully established. This period may be fixed somewhere between 1700 and 1750 V S. A glance at the specimens given by me till now will show that the Mss dating before 1700 V S do not show this ए-ओ evolution. The few exceptions in Bhulan's *Addambari* have been accounted for by me (See *supra* pp 31-32). The specimens given by Śāstri Vrajlal Kalidas in his '*Gujarati Bhāṣa Itihāsa*' (at pp 63 to 67) show that before 1700 V. S अइ-अउ or इ-उ figure as prevalent forms. A Ms of Bhīma Kavi's *Hari Lal* (composed in V S 1541) copied in V S 1702 shows (according to the specimen given by Śāstri Vrajlal) ए-ओ, and the specimens he gives from Mss copied after V S 1750 mark the full sway of ए-ओ. Thus we are safe in fixing the period of the final establishment of ए-ओ between 1700 and 1750 V S.

(२)-(b) *The change of non-final इ-उ to अ.*

The instances of these have been given by me in Lecture IV, Section I Utsarga III, (pp 222 ff of Volume I) e.g. कठिन (Skr) - कठण (G), मातृप (Skr) - माणस (G). I have also pointed out the ancient tendency of this principle far back into the Sanskrit period (p 231 of Vol I) but contended for reasons stated, that in spite of that ancient origin of the principle in an embryonic stage, its real evolution belongs to Gujarati proper. This feature also begins about V S 1750, as indicated in my presidential address at the fifth Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad (p 27).

(c) *Change of* *Change of* *(२) — (c) The change of* *च to च when*
च to च. *in contact with इ, ए or यू.*

This change shows its beginnings in about V. S. 1307 (*Ekavāṇa d pīla e g* विसी) but along with such forms we have also जोसी. The period for a firm establishment of this change must be after 1750 V. S.

(२) — (d) *Inter-vocalic ञ changed to ञ.*

The use of ञ (even intervocalic) is visible till very recent times in writing although ञ was spoken, this (d) *Change of* *च to च* is found in writings fifty years old or thereabouts. It is difficult to say when the ञ sound came into vogue in spoken language for the Mas adopt च all along. Hemachandra recognizes ञ in the limited sphere of the Paisācī language (ढेञ ॥ Si. He VIII-iv-307). But that will not settle our point. For at that rate Vedic Sanskrit had ञ also, for ञ, not for च be it remembered. (See *supra* Vol. I, pp. 365 ff.)

As against the Apabhramśa stage as well as the Earlier Period of the *post* Apabhramśa stage this change of च to च is decidedly a late development, these two stages having no cerebral ञ in them. It is only during the Later Period of the *post* Apabhramśa stage that the exact or approximate advent of the cerebral ञ is difficult to fix the reason as already hinted being the fact that the dental च symbol was used to represent the cerebral ञ for a number of years till some five or six decades ago. Any how this cerebral development is a distinctive feature of the Later Period marking it off from all the preceding stages.

Whether this cerebralization of the dental च marks Gujarātī off from Marāṭhī is another question. Dr. Tessitori³² tells us that 'this process had probably begun since the earliest Old Western Rajasthani stage but is no MS of the latter language the *l* sound is disinguishted from *l*'. This led me to believe what I had regarded as true from occasional impressions received from

32. Vide his 'Notes' p. 5, characteristic number 6 of Gujarātī Ind. Ant. Vol. XLII, February 1914 p. 25.

hearing some Maravadi speak viz that Maravadi does not possess the cerebral ṣ and so I stated in my presidential address at the *Fifth Gujarati Sahitya Parishad* (p 28) This impression of mine was declared to be wrong by Dr Tessitori in a private letter to me written in the middle of July 1915 He stated therein that this cerebral sound (ṣ) was heard in Maravadi and that there was no doubt about it In a later article³³ by him Dr. Tessitori gives an extract from the '*Song of Jasanta Sonigro*' where the cerebral ṣ is indicated by a diacritical dot below ṣ , thus - ṣ , कमल (St 2), सप्त, विदिऔ (St 1), गति, कमा (St 7), गलै, माल (St 8), कमल (St 9) Whether this dot mark is found in the Ms or introduced by Dr Tessitori is not clear (he admits having made alterations to make the language correspond exactly with the time of composition, however this symbol would not necessarily fall within the scope of the object of such alterations) Any how in other places in the article we find simple ṣ without the dot mark³⁴

The extract from a Diogala text given by Dr Tessitori at p 396 of the J A S Beng, Nov 1914 quoted by me *supra* Vol I p 366 n 129 shows this cerebral ṣ marked with a dot luxuriantly. Of course the same remark is applicable in this case, as in the case of the extract from the *Song of Jasanta Sonigro*

Sir George Grierson tells us³⁵ that in Maravadi 'the cerebral l is very common' and that l is often indicated thus ṣ instead of by ṣ The specimens given by him disclose a bewildering mixture of ṣ and ṣ in the various dialects of Maravadi³⁶

The upshot of this survey is that the cerebral ṣ existed as a sound long before it was symbolized (as ṣ in Gujarati or as ṣ or

33 '*Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana* J A, S Beng, N S XII 1916 A D pp 82 84

34 *Ibid*, p 98 श्रीवल (l 8 of the inscription) मल (l 9) This is an inscription dated V S 1686

35 '*Linguistic Survey of India* Vol IX Part II p 20

36 E g see *Ibid* pp 63 64 72, 74, 76, 79, 82 86 88, 91, &c Therein Maravadi proper shows the dental ṣ the rest have the cerebral predominantly over rare instances of the dental

ઝ in Māravādī), that it is difficult to state with any approximation to certainty as to when this sound came into the language but that Dr. Tessitori's statement that this process of cerebralizing had begun since the earliest O. W. Raj stage is not supported by any evidence or inference.

(૨)—(e) *The substitution of આપ્ for હ્યહ્ in the formation of the passive voice.*

So far as I can ascertain this use of આપ્ for હ્યહ્ in the formation of the passive voice is not found in frequent use before the eighteenth century of the Vikrama era. The forms in આપ્ (આહ્) cited by Dr. Tessitori in § 140 of his 'Notes', no doubt are found in Ms of the period 1500 to 1550 A. D. (=1556 to 1606 V S). But these are restricted to the potential sense along with the passive, while Modern Gujarātī uses the form in the pure passive sense also, without the idea of potentiality. Thus, in (M Guj) રહારો એક રવિયો જોવાયો the word જોવાયો cannot possibly have the potential sense (શક્યાર્થે). Any how the disappearance of હ્યહ્ and the firm establishment of આપ્ appears to belong to the later centuries, about the eighteenth century of the Vikrama era.

The genesis of this આપ્ will be examined further on in connection with a different subject. I may only indicate here that the ય્ in this passive આપ્ is I believe, a remnant of યા (=to go, Skr), just as the ય્ in the Skr passive suffix ય્ is traceable to યા to go that H ક્રિયા જાતા હૈ, M કેલે જાતે, G. કર્યુ જાય નહિ (=કરાય નહિ), analytical in their formation throw a suggestive light on the synthetical formations, ક્રિયતે (Skr), કરિયહ્ (Ap), and કરાય (G), indicating the origin of the passive element ય્ from યા=to go and that the આ before the ય્ in કરાય &c is of the nature of an āgama (I am not inclined to go with Dr. Tessitori in the view that this potential આપ્ is traceable to the causal formation which would account for the આ).

In North Gujarat an adventitious ર્ is prefixed to the passive આપ્ when applied to Gujarātī roots ending in આ, હૈ, ઇ or ઓ, thus -

	Passivo
✓खा (to eat) .	खवरायडे;
✓न्हा (to bathe)	न्हवरायडे;
✓जा (to go)	जवरायडे;
✓री (to drink)	पीवरायडे;
✓ले (to take)	लेवरायडे;
✓जो (to see)	जोवरायडे;
✓खो (to lose)	खोवरायडे;

“ लोक आया पाडा थाओ, म्हारी गोय खोवराणी ”
(A village song)

[अवराय डे, passive of आर् (to come) may seem to be the result of mistaking आ as the root; but considering the derivation of आर् from अ+या (Skr.) through the past participle form with व् thrown in as an *dgama*³⁸ it is possible to take आ as the residual root (meaning to come), the original function of आ as an *upasarga* being lost far behind in the course of evolution.³⁹ This gets some support from the H. आता है where the present participial termination ता leaves आ as the root; though आर् is also found; e.g.

मोहे अन्नजल कड़ नहिं भावत है,
मोरो बाबा नहर नहिं आवत है.]

This र् in the passive formation in North Gujarât has a trace of Mâravâḍī influence, those parts being on the border of Mâravâḍī-speaking tracts; Mâravâḍī inserts an *r* before *v*, the passive forming suffix.⁴⁰

38. For this derivation see Vol. I of this work, pp. 245, 246.

39. This lends further support to my derivation of आर् from अ+या, its past participle, with व् interpolated as an *dgama*. —

40. See Sir George Grierson's paper on "Irregular Causal Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars" (read March 1896) J. A. S. Beng., LXV Part I, 1896 A. D., p. 2. He says there—

"I must add another parallel form which has not been noticed by writers in this connection. In the Mârwarî dialect of Râjputânâ certain verbs insert an *r* before *v*, the suffix which forms the passive. Thus the passive of *leṇo* (to take) is *le-r-ijṇo*, and of *deṇo* 'to give' *de-r-yṇo*."

(B) *Psychological changes in grammatical forms.*

This covers cases where the syntactical concord in an earlier idiom is warped in a later idiom; or where the idea conveyed by a particular grammatical form in *post-Apabhramśa* and early Gujarātī stages is altered materially in the Gujarātī evolutes of those very forms.

1 give some important instances —

- (a) The concord in the passive voice of verbs in the past tense as known to the Sanskrit idiom was adopted upto the times of Bhāṭana and little later, and even Premānand occasionally accepts it, in Modern Gujarātī this is curiously altered and the object of the verb is put in the dative like form with the termination *ને*. Take instances—

(1) રાક્ષસ વિદ્વાદ રુક્મણી કૃષ્ણજીવ ક્યમ પામી

(*Daśama Skandha* by Bhāṭana; pada 280, stanza 2. Ms. belonging to the Gujarāt Vernacular Society). (About V. S. 1500)

(2) દીકું નહીં તેણિ ધ્યાયિ હું

(*Bhāṭana's Kādambarī, Pūriabhāga*, p. 22, l. 22, K. H. Dhruva's edition). (About V. S. 1550.)

(3) મહારા પુત્ર ને કામની લોભી થયાં અતિ દુષ્ટ ।

તેણે દુને કાઢિયો લોભી થયાં પાવિષ્ઠ ।

ચનતણે લોભે હું તજ્યો નિસર્થો વનમાં ફરલો ।

(*Bhāṭana's Saptaśatī, Kādarī* 2, st. 12-13) (About 1500 V. S.).

(4) તેણે તો હું કાઢ્યો સત્ય *Ibid* *Kādarī* 3, st. 4.)

(5) હું અનગહરીય તુદનદ તેડવા મોકલી હું

(*Vaṭala panchavīsī prose*, p. 174, (V. S. 1629).

(6) વઢે દુષ્ટી હું મળે ટાલી સમદ્રાવ મગવત

(*Premānanda's Abhimanyu ākhyāna* XVIII, 8)

(V. S. 1727).

(7) તન્વી મે તું કેહે તેહી દયા સેદ ડવાવા

(*Nala-Damayantī-Rāsa* by Nayasundara, V. S. 1665),

For this correct concord, modern Gujarātī will have.—

- (1) कृष्णजी हकमणीने केम पाम्या
- (2) ते व्यापे म्हने दीठो नहिं
- (3) (म्हारा पुत्र ने कामिनीए) म्हने तज्यो
- (4) त्हेणे म्हने काढ्यो
- (5) म्हने तेड्या मोकली छे
- (6) म्हने भळे टाळी
- (7) में त्हेने तेडी.

(Note :—In *instance* (3) हुंने कऱियो is like the modern Gujarâti idiom, side by side with the earlier idiom).

This is the only feature under warping of concord worth noticing. Incidentally I may notice the idiom in Modern Gujarâti हुं छव पाम्यो where पाम्यो is not passive as in Skr. प्राप्, but active; it seems the passive sense of प्राप् is converted into active in Gujarâti without such a change as Skr. would resort to as applying कवतु termination and saying प्राप्त्वान्.

We now come to purely psychological shiftings of senses by way of tense, mood, voice and the like. These are:—

(b) The change of sense of the passive, future tense, third person singular form to the active, future, first person singular, (as also the second person singular):

Examples:—

कथयिष्यते (Skr.), कहिस्सइ (Pr. and Apr.), कहिस्इ-कहिसि (*post-Apabhr.*), कहीस. (Gujarâti) meaning "I shall tell" or "thou shalt tell." Note that upto the Pr. and Apabhramśa stages the idea conveyed is "it will be told" (passive, third person singular); then in the *post-Apabhramśa* stage the sense is in a state of transition, looking on both sides of its position, anterior and posterior, thus eventually shading off into the Modern Gujarâti sense, active voice first or second person singular. This thought-change is partly due to a misapprehension and partly to a natural shifting of thought, "It shall be told" by a conceivable thought-shifting coming to signify "I shall tell" (or "thou shalt tell"). I have already drawn attention to this thought-shifting in the

remarks on the extract from *Bhūtiānādīpālā* (see *supra* p. 48 XI). The sense there lingers in the transitional stage, the form being capable of either sense (passive or active).

The Nāgars of Benares (and also of Surat in a lingering way now, as also those of Karnāl on the Narmadā) use the form कहीशे in the sense—"we shall tell." This form is also an evolnt of कहिस्सइ-कहिशइ. The fact is that while कहिशइ gives कहीशे, कहिशि gives कहीश.

It may be asked—why can not we derive कहीश (first person singular) from कहिस्स? The answer is seen in the tracing given just above, which accounts for कहीशे as well as कहीश both, and thus secures बीजलपत्र. Of course there are various thought changes involved every where. In कहीशे the final nasalization marks the plural number.

(c) The change of the passive in जइ (इजइ)—3rd person singular, into active imperative 2nd person singular. Thus करिजइ, करीजे (old Gujarātī) retaining the passive sense partially, as it means "should do" (we should do, or you should do), but changing the person and mood;—then finally करजे (Modern Gujarātī) = तुं करजे "thou shalt do."

(d) Similarly the change of the passive in जउ (इजउ)—imperative third person singular to active second person plural future imperative. Thus करिजउ (Skr. (क्रिप्ताम्), करजो (Modern Gujarātī) = "You shall do."

Dr. Tessitori ("Notes" § 120, last para) quotes Dr. Hoernle's view that the so-called respectful imperative is but "a regularly conjugated passive verb, which has assumed an active sense" (*Gaudian Grammar*, § 499); but only to differ from him. I cannot dwell at length on Dr. Tessitori's reasons for rejecting Dr. Hoernle's opinion, but would content myself by stating that they are all capable of refutation. Dr. Hoernle's view is, to my mind, quite sound.

(e) The change of the passive form in इयइ (third person singular, present tense), to the first person plural number present tense (indefinite or subjunctive) active voice.

Thus :—*क्रियते* (Skr.), *करियइ* (Aṇḍhramśa and Post-Aṇḍhramśa), *करिये* (Modern Gujārātī), meaning "We may do".

For the psychological analysis of this change and the reason for it see *Gujarati Language and Literature* Vol. 1, pp. 97-98.

(f) The same change yielding the form *करिये*, but possessing a respectful imperative sense; e. g.:

1 जुभो आपणे हावुं काम ना करिये (= we should not do).

2 मय आवे तो आ वपाय करिये (= "we should do"). The thought-steps are similar as in the last case (e).

(g) Lastly, we may revert to the change of the present tense, third person, singular, active voice, indicative mood, to the subjunctive sense. *करीति, करइ, करे* (Modern Gujārātī) = (he may do, (if he) do).

I have analysed this change and traced it to an exhaustion of the power of the form ending in *ति*, resulting, on the one hand, in propping up the indicative sense by the help of *ऊ*, and, on the other, by reducing the sense of the pure *ति* ending to the subjunctive mood.

It may be noted that all these changes did not drop ready-made from the skies at one single moment; each had its own time and course. But it may be safely asserted that the period for these changes covers the centuries from V. S. 1500 to V. S. 1750, approximately, thus some of them marking modern Gujārātī, while others marked earlier stages.

(O) *The Analytic or synthetic nature of the forms marking the several periods.*

In order to correctly appreciate this aspect of the Gujārātī language, we must be clear as to the exact meaning and application of the two terms *analytic* and *synthetic*, as applied to language.

A lot of misapprehension and confusion has arisen in this matter, and the reason is very well traced by the writer on "Philology" in the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*".⁴¹ He divides

41 *Encyclopædia Brit.* (eleventh edition), Vol. XXI, 423, a.

languages into two main divisions (1) Isolating Languages and (2) Agglutinative Languages and subdivides the latter into (a) Simply Agglutinative and (b) Inflective. The subdivision (a) will cover the two classes named *Agglutinative* and *Analytical* by Beames, and (b) is but another name for *Synthetic*. Truly inflective languages are those which admit internal changes in their words to indicate change of grammatical forms, such are the Semetic languages e.g. Arabic which for instance, changes the word *nār* (=light) into *narār* for its plural *Khabār* singular into *alḥāḥir* plural, and so forth. The writer in the Encyclopædia objects to accepting the term 'inflective' in such a restrictive sense. He says —⁴²

'There is no term in linguistic science so uncertain of meaning so arbitrary of application, so dependent on the idiosyncrasy of its user, as the term 'inflective' (i.e. 'synthetic')

The same remark would apply to the class *analytic*. The writer adds —⁴³

"Any language ought to have the right to be called 'inflective' that has inflexion that is that not merely distinguishes parts of speech and roots and stems formally from one another but also conjugates its verbs and declines its nouns, and the name is sometimes so used."

Let us turn to Dr R. G. Bhandarkar. He tells us —⁴⁴

'When a language is in that condition in which grammatical relation is expressed by such compounds consciously formed, and both parts of the compound can be used independently it is said to be the *analytical stage*'

वेत्, locative of वत् (alternatively with वत्स) is a peculiar formation from वत् + व. It is not to be confounded with any truly inflectional feature as in the Semetic forms noted above.

Rural Gujarātī, Kāthiāvādī Gujarātī, and Parsī Gujarātī have वेत् instead of वेत्.

42 Encyclo Brit (Eleventh Edition), Vol XXI, 423, b.

43 Wilson *Philological Lectures*, p. 8.

Then, proceeding to illustrate phonetic decay by the change of मध्य to मां or मै, or of कार to आर, and the like Dr. Bhândârkâr points out that:—

“the words forming the compound grow together, both being altered in the process and the original sense of the latter is forgotten. It is this circumstance that renders phonetic change possible, for if those who speak the language always used the two words in the compound with a conscious desire to express their joint sense, such a corruption would not take place. Phonetic decay reduces the latter portion to a mere termination and thus a language arrives at what is called the *synthetic* stage. All the dead Aryan languages and most of the living ones also, are in the synthetic condition.”

Dr. Bhândârkâr further observes:—⁴⁴

“The grammatical terminations which are oftener used than any particular words suffer the most in this process of decay and after a time they are confused with each other or dropped away. When a language is reduced to this condition, it has to fall back upon the expedient with which it started, and tack on certain words or particles to its nouns and verbs to express the relations which the old terminations denoted, and thus the analytic state returns. But the old process goes on again, and these words in their turn assume the character of terminations. x x x x The modern vernaculars have had to resort to this process of reconstruction in a great measure.”⁴⁵

Now we approach Beames for a definition of the terms *synthetic* and *analytic*. After describing syntactical and aggluti-

44. His *Indian Philology Lectures*, p. 11.

45. कर् from करोति gradually losing its original sense and taking on कर् (क) to express it, is an instance of the synthetic stage passing into the analytic stage. The opposite instance is furnished by मध्य coming in to express the locative sense and finally becoming a mere termination in the shape of मां. Other instances will be discussed further on in the text.

nated stages (exemplified respectively by Chinese and Turkish languages) he comes to the third and fourth stages, viz — *synthetical* or *inflectional* stage and the *analytical* stage, the former being seen in Sanskrit and the latter in Modern English and French.

The synthetical stage according to Beames, is that in which particles added to nouns to form case-endings, are no longer separable but have become incorporated into the word which they modify merely producing the result of varying the terminal syllable or syllables and the analytical stage is that in which the particles are not even recognizable as constituent elements of the word with which they were incorporated but, from long use, have been worn away, so that the word stands almost bare and without terminations as in the first stage and new auxiliary words have to be brought in to express the necessary modifications of sense

As Beames rightly points out "no language is purely analytical. The most advanced languages such as English, still retain traces of the synthetical phase through which they have formerly passed". And he cites as instances of the synthetic phase the forms—*thou goest* he goes or goeth went, gone. Similarly, *Man's* (from *man his* 'as in Bill stamps his mark') *higher, loved*, are synthetic forms while '*of man*', "*more high*" "*did love*" '*will be loved*' are analytic forms, both the sets existing simultaneously in the present day English

Thus for our use the true and essential tests of a synthetic form are —

- (a) that the termination is derived by the wearing out of an original word which has lost its independent nature and
- (b) the capacity of such termination to alter the final vowels &c. of the nouns to which they are attached

Applying these tests to Gujarati case-forms we find an interesting state of things. Take the forms —

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. मगनने मार्यो | (Objective case); |
| 2. हाथे वणेलं छगइ | (Instrumental case); |
| -3. गोविन्दने आप्य | (Dative case); |
| 4. गामथी आव्यो | (Ablative case); |
| 5. घोडाना पग | (Genitive case); |
| 6. (a) घरमां ताप लागेले
(b) पाटले वेढो | } (Locative case), |

In the above instances numbers 2 and 6 (b) show a marked fusion of the termination (ए) with the nouns (हाथ and पाटले) by means of *sandhi*. This fact, and the entirely dependent and worn out nature of the termination, will induce every one to admit these to be synthetic forms. But when Beames speaks of incorporation of the termination we need not take it to mean complete fusion. For in such sentences as घोडाए लात मारी, घणीए कटुं, भालानी अणीए धाली मूकीने फेरवी, the instrumental or agentive ए in the first two instances, and the locative ए in the third, remain fairly separate from the base-word. What is meant by incorporation is simply this: that the termination is more or less inseparably united with the base. We find this to be the state of things with all the case-terminations: ने, ए, ने, धी, लं, मां-ए. An inquiry into the derivation of these terminations (which we shall enter upon later on) shows that they are remnants of complete words worn out in transit. Here I may briefly state that ए, instrumental, is a worn out form of the Skr. ending एन, the locative ए is similarly traceable to the Skr. loc. termination इ (these Skr. endings themselves being synthetic); ने, acc. and dative, are derived from the genitive termination हुं and this latter is a worn out remnant of तण⁴⁶ (Ap.) from Skr. तन; while मां is traceable back to मध्य (through मज्झ, मझ, मह, महां,); and धी is traceable to स्थित (Skr.),—(and धकी to a possible past participle of स्थक्).

46 A look at the remarks on तण at p. 25 *supra* shows the gradual history of the word from an independent adjective to a termination. The further wearing out of तण into हुं (through अण-अन) emphasizes the synthetic nature of the form. It is noteworthy that तण, unworn out, is still in use as a genitive termination, but only in poetry.

Thus all these terminations satisfy condition (a) for the synthetic stage. They also satisfy condition (b), in as much as ने, घ, धी and मा as also ए have the capacity to alter the final vowel of the base-word, thus घोडो-घोडाने, घोडाए (also घोडे), घोडाधी, घोडाड, घोडामा, घोडाए (as also घोडे)

Thus we can safely assert that the Gujarātī case-terminations are synthetic. Sir George Grierson⁴⁷ allows the Gujarātī dative and genitive case endings a place in the synthetic system but regards the others as analytic. Further, he regards the Hindi genitive ending का as analytic. This view is due to a one sided look at the conditions determining the synthetic or analytic nature of a form. Sir George's reason about का is that while तण elides its त् in forming the Gujarātī ending, का (which is deriveable from कृतक through क्तिभञ्ज) retains the initial क्, and thus shows that it begins a separate word, the elision of consonants in the Prakrits being confined to initial ones. Now the fallacy lies in ignoring the condition (b) stated above viz. the capacity⁴⁸ to alter the final vowel of the base-word (for घोडा nom, घोडेया gen. will show this function of का), and also assuming that the ending must wear out its initial consonant to qualify itself for the post of a synthetic termination, thus by no means is correct, the only condition is that the help-word should be so worn out in any of its parts as to destroy its independent position, this is the case in का (कृतक, क्तिभञ्ज, का being such a wearing out).

In the case of धी (ablative) and मा (loc) the arguments apply, both are worn out forms of earlier independent words (स्थित and मध्य), and both have the capacity of altering the final vowel of the base-word घोडो (nom), घोडाधी (ablative), घोडामा (loc). I⁴⁹ fail to

47 LSI, Vol IX, p 328

48 I emphasize this capacity, because a termination may in some cases alter the final vowel of the base word, and in some cases it may not. Thus, for instance, घोडું, but હાથનું, દેવાનાં but નદીનાં and વનનાં in Skt, yet જાનું (નાનું) is none the less a synthetic termination

49 It is a matter for consideration how far this factor of altering the final vowel of the base-word can be regarded as touching anything

see how Sir George's view that these are analytical terminations can be regarded as tenable

Beames in one place holds that in Gujarātī 'the noun retains one inflectional case the instrumental only the noun ending in *o* undergoes any change of termination previous to the application of the post-positions' ⁵⁰ This would show that he inclines towards regarding the Gujarātī case-endings (except the instrumental) as analytical (He seems to have ignored the locative case ending *ए* which is alternative with *मा*). The root of the error in this view lies in the fact that Beames picks up *राजा* as his test word *o* word whose *आ* ending is taken bodily from the Skr. nominative singular of *राजन्*, while he neglects the type *घोडा* (Hindi) *घोडो* (Guj.), although the *राजा* type would cover a minority and the *घोडा* type a majority of the words in the language as also *बिजारी* adjectives in *ओ* and *व* will preponderate in the language. An exceptional type like *राजा* cannot be regarded as a decisive test it would not be correct to infer the analytical nature from such an isolated type involving no change in the final vowel of the base-word. On the contrary the very fact of the change of *ओ* to *आ* (Guj.) or *आ* to *ए* (Hindi *घोडा-घोड़ेरा*) and that too covering an extensive range of words should be taken as the determining element.

Further, Beames minimizes the value of this vowel-change in order to maintain his assumption that the case endings are analytical. Thus he says—

"The only trace of an inflectional or synthetical system is to be found in certain changes effected in the last syllable of some nouns to prepare them for taking the detached particles which express the relations of case" ⁵¹

deeper than the surface of things. For, if we go deeper, the change of *ओ* to *आ* is not real the *ओ* is the nominative formation by the elision of the *क* of *अक*, and the change of *अ* into *उ*, and the so called *आ* change is but the result of the *अक* changing into *अ* *अ* in the base-word itself. See *Gujarātī Language and Literature* Vol I, p. 216, last para.

50. *Comparative Grammar*, Vol I, p. 50.

51. *Ibid*, Vol II, p. 183

The word "only" minimizes the value of what, really and after all, is a specific symptom of the synthetic process, while the term "detached particles" is an incorrect representation of the really dependent nature of the case-endings, and, further more, Beames entirely ignores the condition about the wearing out of the endings, which is another determining condition.

And yet we find Beames occasionally leaning towards the view which allows the synthetic nature to our case-endings. Thus —

"The forms of the oblique cases are not however, the only traces which still survive of the old Sanskrit inflections"⁵²

This statement is a general one and applicable to all the seven languages examined by him. But we come to a more definite statement with regard to the western vernaculars —

"In striking contrast to the wide range of synthetical forms observable in Marāṭhī and the western languages, stands out the naked simplicity of the Bengālī and Oṛīyā which have scarcely any variations of the stem"⁵³

We thus see that Beames oscillates between the analytic and synthetic theories as regards Gujarātī and Marāṭhī. So far as the case-endings are concerned we are, as already stated safe in regarding the Gujarātī case-endings as synthetic. Correctly viewed language presents variegated patterns woven by a mysterious power. Language passes from the analytic to the synthetic and back to the analytic phase and back again to the synthetic stage, as significantly pointed out by Sir R. G. Bhândārkār in the passage quoted above⁵⁴. Thus an invisible shuttle moves forward and backward and forward again, and the woof and warp of language are wrought out into various patterns. Thus I have pointed out above that the Prakṛit substantives spent themselves and Gujarātī, at some early stage resorted to the analytic help of स्थित (and स्थिति), imitating in this case the similar dodge of Apabhramśa which

52 *Comparative Grammar*, Vol II, p. 228, § 48.

53 *Ibid*, p. 227, § 49.

54. See *supra* p. 79

adopted⁵⁵ होन्तउ (the Ap pres part of Skr भू) in the ablative of pronouns to indicate the ablative relation and these स्थित, स्थिति again passed into the form of synthetic terminations थी and थीकी. The locative termination ए (इ Skr) failed to serve⁵⁶ all the purposes of the idea of location in modern Gujarati consequently the synthetic ए gave place at some stage to the analytic मध्य which again dwindled down to the synthetic shape of मा The genitive स्य (Skr), स्त (Pr) इ (Post-Ap) in course of time spent themselves and तण sprang into use at first analytically as in तास तण (=तस्य सवन्धिन्) then gradually dropping the genitive स and finally becoming a termination which still further get worn out into the slender ह The dative and objective (which is in a sense allied to the dative, the idea of "giving to" being easily transformed into "acting upon") at some stage stopped dead, and modern Gujarati resorted to the circumlocution of combining the genitive हुँ with the locative ए to express the idea of ने कामे (कार्ये), दिते and the like

As regards verbs, we shall find a similar process at work To take the simple tenses first we have करेछे (Present Indicative)

55 St. H. VIII iv, 355 and others Hemachandra gives here ह as the ablative termination, but his illustrations, जहाँ होन्तउ, तहाँ होन्तउ &c. include होन्तउ invariably, and हाँ is really a locative form I therefore hold that हो तउ is the real ablative suffix I have discussed this point at full length in my paper on the Ablative Termination in Gujarati (Sir Abuloh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol III, 3)

56 Compare the following sentences in this connection —

(a) घोंडे वेठो, (b) गळीमा वेठो

It will be seen that ए is used to express an idea conveyed by 'on' while मा (which comes from मध्य=middle, inside) is used to express the idea conveyed by 'in' In other words ए expresses औपेक्षिक आधार while मा indicates वैषयिक आधार There are other restricted significations of ए and मा fixed by idiom, e.g. कूवे पडवु would be used in the case of suicidal falling into a well while कुवामा पडवु for an accidental fall, खाटले पडवु applies to confinement to bed, खाटलामा पडवु to the mere physical act of dropping into a bed, घर वेसवु refers to deprivation of occupation, घरमा वेसवु to the mere act of staying inside the house.

करुं (past tense), करे (future tense), all third person singular. We see at once that करे is analytic in so far as the termination in रे having lost its power of indicating pure existence (the idea of a pure present tense), the form tacks on छे as a help-word for indicating the full sense of the present indicative form, and although छे holds a subordinate position here, it is not a word which has worn out its form or entirely lost its possible independence elsewhere.

करुं is not exactly expressive of the past tense idea as in "I wrote a letter to you last week" which cannot be correctly rendered by मैं रहमने गये अठ्ठादिये कामळ लख्यो, the correct form would be लख्यो हतो. Thus for expressing the past tense we have to resort to the help word हतो. This would be an analytic form, though, no doubt लख्यो is synthetic from its heredity.

करे is undeniably synthetic, coming as it does from करिष्यति, करिस्तद्.

But a number of forms in different moods and the like require the help of auxiliary variations, e. g. लख्योछे (has written), लख्यो हतो (had written, or wrote), लख्यु होत (would have written), लखतो हतो (was writing) &c. These are obviously analytical forms.⁵⁷

On the other hand there are forms like परत (subjunctive, "would have done"), कराय (passive). These are distinctly synthetic, as we shall soon see.

The upshot of this brief survey is that Gujarati displays in its verb a variegated mixture of synthetic and analytic forms. An examination of the genesis of the several synthetic forms will show the working of the two processes backwards and forwards. We have already seen the movement from करु to करे, from करिय passive third pers sing to करिये ("we do," pres first person, plural), करिज्जइ (pass pres 3rd person singular) to करने (future, im

⁵⁷ Berries (vol. I, P. 50, end of para 2) regards all these variations as "neat and varied combinations of participles with each other, and with the substantive verbs." But he ignores the essential fact that they are the only method of expressing the several moods and tense-varieties.

perative, 2nd persoo, singular), करिज्जउ (pass, imper, or potential third person, singular) to करजो (future, imperative second persoo, plural and the like. These are, however, movements from one synthetic form to another with a change only in the sense. But the effects of such changes are visible in a different kind of shifting—a movement from the synthetic to the analytic, and again to the synthetic formation.

Take करत (subjunctive), — हुं करत, तूं करत, ते करत, so also in the plural. This करत can be traced to the Prakrit and Ap kriyātipatti formation in (अ)त्त⁵⁸ which (as is shown by its brother termination माण corresponding to the Skr Ātmanepada मान) is but the present participle termination. And करत is but a variation of the Gujarātī present participle करतो or comes through करंत (present participle). Here the present participle moved into the subjunctive mood.

But this is not exactly the shifting we want to see. That is presented by the passive form कराय (कराय छे, करायुं, करायो etc). The original Skr. passive is क्रियते, Pr विज्जइ, (करिज्जइ), Post-Ap (=O W. R) करियइ. This करियइ having transferred itself into the present tense indefinite first personal plural (करिये) or precative (=we should do), and thus ceased to express the idea of the passive voice proper, a new form had to be devised for the latter expressiveness⁵⁹

58 Si He VIII-III-180 [क्रियातिपत्ते 179] त-माणो ॥ e g 16
लज्जे ज तु वयासिभट्ट जइ भग्ना घर एत्तु ॥

The same pres. participial form yields two other moods or forms in Gujarātī, (1) करत=करेछे, only in poetry, and (2) करतो=used to do, योन यौन्य : e repetition of the act)

59 A converse use of the current passive in भाय made by certain old fashioned ladies is very significant. According to orthodox custom ladies observing rules of modesty may not address their children direct, but only impersonally. Such ladies wishing to order their children would not use the imperative (e g) પેલી વાઢકી ડાવો, but, would say 'પેલી વાઢકી ભવાય,' thus using the current passive for the imperative mood, just as करियइ, the passive, evolved into the imperative करिये.

can be effected rationally and consistently by viewing the आय as य a synthetic evolving curiously come out of जाय preceded by आ as an adventitious *dgama*. It is also possible to regard the आ as the residual vowel left after the ज् in जाय got elided by the process of wearing out. If this view is accepted the *dgama* theory must be given up.

Thus कर्तुं जाय, a purely analytic formation, found its way into the language to express the passive sense. This in course of time assumed the form कराय which, examined minutely shows कर+य (remnant of या to go), thus wearing out the help-word into a synthetic termination.

That this is not a fanciful derivation of the passive form will be clear from a deeper inquiry into the question.

(1) क्रियते (Skr)

(2) करियते (Pali)

(3) विज्जइ-करियइ (Pr and Ap)⁶⁰

(4) करियइ (Post-*Ap*)

(5) किया जाता (Hindi)

(6) केले जाते (Marāṭhī)

(7) कर्तुं जाय (Gujarātī of a few centuries ago)

(8) যমন লোক দেখা যায় (যায়) (Bengālī) = Such a person is seen.

(9) कराय (M. Guj.).

Throughout this series of forms we find the root या (=to go) functioning the passive sense in some shape or other. In (5), (6), (7), and (8) the representative of या(जा) comes clearly as an analytic support. In (1) to (4) या (disguised as the worn out य-उज्ज, इय-इज्ज) comes as a synthetic adhesion. [The उज्ज in (8) has to be accounted for. In Pali य was doubled after a shortened य, e. g. येय्य (Skr स्थेय), मेय्य (Skr मेय), and the like. I believe, at some stage in the post Pāli period, the य of the passive came to be doubled into य्य. Again the change of य to ज which in Prākṛit occurs only when the य is initial, would, in a latent way, indicate the source of the य termination from या (=to go), at one time an independent word. This would, in its own way, go to support the theory that the passive formant is the root या=to go. I present this aspect of the question with all deference and diffidence, for there are other views advanced by various scholars.]

Finally we have the synthetic form कराय in Modern Gujarātī. A priori the chaining of this final link with the preceeding serie

⁶⁰ Mārāṭhī has the synthetic passive करिजगे (LSI, Vol. IX, Pt II, P. 29).

can be effected reasonably and consistently by viewing the आय as य a synthetic evolving curiously come out of जाय preceded by आ as an adventitious *āgama*. It is also possible to regard the आ as the residual vowel left after the ज् in जाय got elided by the process of wearing out. If this view is accepted the *āgama* theory must be given up.

Dr Tessitori (Notes § 140 and § 136 last para) relying on Hærnle (§ 484 of his *Gaudina Grammar*) regards क्काय (passive) as merely the Causative turned into the passive meaning क्काय <क्काइ- here इ being regarded as merely the remnant of ति (Skr). But I submit the more correct view is that the य is a remnant of या (=to go) and the आ is not the sign of the causal but only accidentally common to the passive क्काय and the causal (क्काव) for the आ in the causal is traceable to the आय् (Pr and Ap) derivable from the exceptional आय् in दापयति &c which came to be generalized in the Prakrit causal. This would set free the आ of the passive क्काय as an independent factor. Again as indicated above the whole chain from (1) to (9) becomes a well linked whole by taking क्काय as the last link in it. It will also be seen that while Hindi Marāṭhi and Bengali have the analytical formation in जाता, जातें, जाय, the Gujarati क्युं जाय comes as an intermediate step and leads up to the synthetic क्काय which is the natural movement of the foundation, the original Skt synthetic क्रियते being but a development of some previous analytic stage wherein या came in as a separate help word.

There are some scholars who contend that in the forms क्काय (छे) लखाय (छे) &c. य is merely an adventitious *āgama* while आ is the real passive suffix that लिखा जाता (H) देख्यु जाय (G) show that the H आ and G यु represent the passive principle and that the passive forms लखाये, लखातु इतु &c. show that य is absent while आ stands and therefore it is this आ that must be regarded as the suffix of the passive voice. My answer to this will be —

(a) Just as in क्काइ छइ the अइ of क्काइ exhausted its present indicative force and so छइ came in as a support even so in देख्यु जाय, लिखा जाता the चान्त (past participial passive) formation exhausted its passiveness (or at least kept it dormant) and so जा came in as a support and supplied the passive sense analytically.

(b) The *य* in लयाय, लयायते &c. is visible while in उवासे, उवाहते etc the *य* is obviously dropped, लयासे, लयाहते, being phonetically preparatory to such dropping besides this *य* is the offspring of a long chain (य, ज्ञ, ज य, इ) of passive suffixes (*Vide* Tessitori's 'Notes' § 136 ff and § 140) The *य*, therefore, is the real suffix and आ is the *āgama* just as इ is in क्रियते (Skr.), करियइ (Pr. &c.).

[According to Tessitori (as implied in his 'Notes' § 140) this आ was originally a causative but lost its nature and assumed a reflexive or passive meaning I would say, the आ is not a passive suffix but merely an *āgama* or at the worst a euphonic change ⁶¹]

61 Since I worked out the above analysis of the passive suffix य(भाय), my attention was drawn to an illuminating and interesting article on The Bengali Passive by J. D. A. (= J. D. Anderson obviously) in J. R. A. S. 1913 A. D., pp. 163 ff. I find substantial support to my theory in that article. I can but give a brief summary of the elaborate discussion entered into by J. D. A. -

(a) J. D. A. quotes from Bopp a passage wherein he (Bopp) says - The letter य is inserted to make up the passive form in Sanskrit which is changed to ज्ञ in Prākṛit, and thus the Sanskrit य is the abbreviated form of या to go. The full form of या is still used in Bengālī to produce the passive verb as करि याइ - I am made, literally, I go in making. In Sanskrit compound passive forms occur, besides the simple in य, as in Latin. The Latin *amatum est* to be loved, is literally to be gone in love.

(b) J. D. A. then gives several instances of the passive form and observes -

(1) That आभि करा जाइ (याइ) would according to Bopp's view, be correct and not आभाके करा जाइ (याइ), to express the idea - (it) can be done by me.

(2) That the several instances are in the third person non-honorific form and that therefore it is not clear which of the alternative constructions is intended.

but (3) that in एमन लोक देखा जाय (याय) 'such a person is seen' - the nominative लोक and not the objective लोकके is used.

I may be allowed to observe as regards Bopp's statements,

The verb meaning "to go" plays a prominent part in the construction of suffixes. Thus, for in-

The prominent part played in suffix construction by the roots meaning 'to go'—

(1) स्प, the Sanskrit future termination, is a synthetic contraction of अस् (=to be)+या (=to go); करिष्यति originally covering the sense "is going

- (a) that the tracing of the passive suffix in Sanskrit and the use of जा in Bengali, is no doubt correct, but the psychological process underlying the passive-ness is wrongly analysed. "I go in making" would imply more of an active sense than a passive submission to the process of doing;
- (b) that it is not clear what compound passive forms in Sanskrit are meant by Bopp. Does he mean forms like शक्यमराविन्दसुरभिः
× × × आलिङ्गितुं पवनः-आलिङ्गितुं शक्यम्=आलिङ्गयते ?
If so, this expression implies potentiality more than mere passive-ness.
- (c) Amatum iri—"to be gone in love." Is this a correct analysis? Does not the sentence merely mean—"to go in the action of loving," i. e. "to be loved"? Of course, the literal sense is "to be gone to love."

As regards J. D. A.'s views, I may observe

- (d) that the root-error throughout the discussion lies in regarding the formal subject of a passive verb on the same footing as the real कर्ता, agent of the क्रिया (action), and in mixing up the impersonal भवे प्रयोग of intransitive verbs with these cases.

लोक देखा जाय;-here लोक is the subject of देखा जाय, although it is the real object (कर्म) of the act of 'seeing.' Because of the passive form it is the formal subject (and so in the nominative case), it is the subject of जा, but the object of देखा.

- (e) मामाके डाका हय (=I am called), (Bengali)

স্বামী মারী নাট্যধী (Hindi)

স্বামী মারী জয়ন্তে ছিলেন (Bengali)

স্বামী মারী জায়তে ছিল (")

মিনি যুদে মারী জান (বাংলা) (")

In these instances the roots मा् and डाक are peculiar verbs which warp the idiom in the matter of concord, as in हुं मोकलीहुं (Old Guj) now changed to हूँ मोकलीछे.

to do " therefore, "will do " [Dr Sir R G Bhândarkar pointed this out long ago ⁶²]

- (2) So also are the passive formations in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Gujarātī (with some other vernaculars) as noted above क्रियते being formed from कृ+या+ते (present tense third person, singular termination) and meaning 'do go is i e goes through the process of doing,' 'is being done
- (3) करेगा (Hindī) is made up by combining the main root with गा, an evolute of गम् to go This substantially corresponds to the Sanskrit composition of स्य (the future suffix) except that अम् finds no apparent corresponding element in करेगा ⁶³ If we accept Dr Bhandarkar's view ⁶⁴ that करे is a shrunken form of करिष्यति (Skr) through करिस्सति, करिस्सद्, करिस्सद्, करिद्द्, करिद् (करद्), करे, (he takes दा as the instances and goes up to दाद्) the अम् element is perhaps present of course crouching dormant, in the ए of करे (गा).

Dr. Bhandarkar ⁶⁴ regards this गा as a contraction of गभा from the past participle गत (Skr) of गम् to go and gives as its literal significance "gone that he (may) 'do If the close similarity of गा with the original past participle were not in the way, I should have preferred the significance—"goes to do" and therefore "will do"

Beames ⁶⁵ also regards this गा as the past participle of गम्, and gives the same significance as Dr Bhandarkar viz —'have gone that (I) may do' and compares it with the English idiom

62 His Wilson Philological Lectures, pp 11-12

63. Śāstri Vrajlāl Kādhās (*Gujarātī Bhāṣā no Itihāsa*, p 26, A D 1866) wrongly regards this as an *apaḥkramā* (a corruption an evolute) from the या of स्य, या and गम्, meaning the same thing (i e to go), are constitutionally separate roots

64 His Wilson Philological Lectures, p 12 also pp 271-2

65 Comparative Grammar Vol III, pp, 160-161.

"*I am going to do*" and pointedly notes the past participial nature of the suffix (गा-गी) indicated by the inflection for gender and number in concord with the agent. I may only note with reference to this that the English idiom has the present tense (*am going*) whereas the Hindi गा is regarded as a remnant of the participle in the past tense.

Weighing all the considerations against each other, we are forced to accept the view that गा represents the past participle.

- (4) The suffix for the Sanskrit causal form अय (गमयति कारयति etc.) also seems to be from the root अय् (=to go) कारयति being equivalent to 'makes another to go to do' a thing i.e. causes him to do it.

From the foregoing discussion as applied to the specimens under our examination it may be inferred pretty correctly that छे came into predominance as a suffix and made the verb analytical some time after 1500 V.S. and still later that तण became a synthetic suffix after 1700 V.S. or thereabouts and the other case-endings became synthetic about and after 1750 V.S.

- (D) *The presence and frequency or prominence of certain special words distinctive of a period*

(D) *Special words of a distinctive nature*

Under this head I pick up the following words —

- (1) छे=साथे (with)
- (2) छे=जैवु (like) used as a termination as in दाडिमकणशी दत्तपत्ति,
- (3) तय्यु-*genitive termination*
- (4) केरु-*genitive termination*
- (5) द-*genitive termination,*
- (6) क-*genitive termination*
- (7) सो-ची-बु-*genitive termination*
- (8) हवु-*ablative appendage (or absolute case);*
- (9) थरु-*ablative appendage (or absolute case),*
- (10) पाहि-*ablative appendage,*
- (11) आ-*ablative ending,*

- (12) भणी—in the sense of "for; (therefore),"
 (13) जमलो=(a) standing near; (b) equal;
 (14) हेज=हेत, affection;
 (15) भुज in the sense of भुजने;
 (16) रेसि as a dative appendage (generally);
 (17) रहइ as a dative or genitive appendage.

To run over these words as rapidly as their respective importance demands —

- (1) भुं is very frequent ever since Narasinha Mehtā's time, and is still in vogue in modern poetry (not in prose).

- (a) केली करती कृष्णभुं करे चैपेकार रे ॥

(Narasinha Mehtā; *Rāsa-sahasra-paṭī*, pāda 5, st. 1 and in numerous other places.)

- (b) तहणीभभुं रति मांदि ॥

(*Vasanta-vidāsa*, st. 84.)

- (c) प्रेमभुं जई चरण लाग मातनि कुमार

(*Bhāṣaṇī*, *Kaddambārī*, *pūrvabhāga*, p. 63, l. 13.)

- (d) यौन मादइ मोदइ अंत, परनारीभुं साजा रंग।

घरघरणीभुं नावि यादि

(*Vimala-prabandha*, III-78)

[NOTE—(a), (b) and (c) belong to the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era, and (d) to the latter half of that century (V. S. 1568)]

This भुं, originally coming from सह (Skr.) or समं (Skr.), can be traced back through a variety of forms, रहुं, सिडं and the like. We have seen सिडं in the *Mugdhaśābedha Aṭṭha*, चैतु लोक सिडं वात करइ (*supra*, p. 67).

- (2) भुं. This, derived from ०हभे, as in मादभे (Skr.)=भुजभुं (Guj.), through ०रिसं, -इसं, has manifested itself very rarely in the works of the older poets, and is visible in the time of Premānanda or thereabouts, oftener than in earlier times. In modern poetry it is in frequent use.

Thus —

Narsinha Mehta

- (a) गोरुंजुं वदन ने गलस्थळ झळके
(*Kāṇya saṅgraha*, p. 493, pada 9)
(b) लांवीशी डोक ने कांकोळ चानतो
(*Ibid*, p. 479, pada 27)

Premānanda.

- (c) सुखमळ सुभद्रांतुं झळके रे,
जाणे चंद्रविम्बशुं चळके रे
(*Subhadrā harana*, XLI)
(d) गल्लस्थळ नारंग फळशा, आशित्य इन्दु अकोटी ,
(*Nalākhyāna*, XV.)
(e) नगरी (?) नगर खणीने करू वजह रानशुं
(*Vrajaceli*, by Premānanda, st. 252)
(f) झळके दादमरीजशा रंत
(*Mohani śarāpa*, st. 14 by Dīyaram)
Modern Poetry.

Narasinharaṇi Bholānāth.

- (g) धोळी बरफशी डोकनी मध्य सुनेरी कांडो
(*Kusuma mālā* p. 36,) ,
“आशापंखीइ” (st. 2, l. 1)
(h) वळी अमृतशुं मीड गान बरे दिव्य पखीइ
(*Ibid* st. 3, l. 3)

Nānalāl D. Kari.

- (k) प्रकळ शेतघळ, प्रेमचन्द्रशुं,
दृश्यमान थणु
(*Vasantotsava*, p. 8, l. 2)
(l) वचमा जळभर्या अन्नशुं,
न्हाउ सरोवर हत
(*Ibid*, p. 9, l. 18)
(m) ताराना झूमखांशी
लटकती मजरीओमा
(*Ibid*, p. 21, l. 4)

(n) सोनारूपाना थाळशुं वदन

(*Indulūmāra*, p. 9, l. 9)

(o) स्कटिमलताओशा बाढाओना करमां

(*Ibid*, p. 13)

(p) गुडगुडावनी पताकाशो

पूर्ण समीर छदरेछेस्तो

(*Ibid*, p. 114)

and in numerous other places all over his works. In fact his use of this form is unrestrained by any sense of propriety or grace in several cases, and °शुं runs wild in his compositions. His imitators have surpassed him in the absurdity of the use of this form.

A glance at the instances given above will show that the form as employed by Narasimha Mehta, गोरेशुं and छांदीशी, have not the exact significance of a simile (उपमा), the word to which the शुं is appended does not represent an उपमान, as is the case with the later usage, e. g. चन्द्रविम्बशुं 10 Premānanda, where चन्द्रविम्ब is the उपमान. The earlier usage adopts शुं in the sense of the English suffixes as in "whitish" "reddish" &c. (where "like" is also used to signify the same idea). An old popular stanza repeated by Bhavāyās has the word न्हानीशी in the same sense—

न्हानीशी⁶⁶ नार ने नाकमां मोती,
पिणु प्रदेस ने वाट्ही जोती,
छले कागळ ने निरगमे दहाडा,
एणी अर्धाणीए नागरवाटा.

It is probable that शुं did not come direct from forms ending in दश, such as मादश, तादश, अन्यादश for it won't do in Sanskrit to say चन्द्रविम्बदश, नारंगपलदश, or the like, the word सदश would be

66 This usage is found occasionally in Modern Gujarātī also, e. g. काळचक्र जे धुमे न्हावुंशुं छेनी नवरे (Narasimharāo, *Kusumamālā*, p. 4, *Kūḷa chakra*, st 2, l 3). Marīṭhī has this form and meaning in ordinary usage, as in लहानसा, थोडीशुं &c.) in common parlance and literary usage also.

used there: चन्द्रविम्बसदृश etc.. It is very likely that the latter day use of शुं (as in चन्द्रविम्बशुं) arose by dropping the स in this सदृश. Or it may be that in view of the usage like नयणां तथोत्तरसजसां (Narasinha Mehtā; Works, p. 126, *Chāturi*, 14th, st. 3), the final form in शुं alone was evolved by dropping ज in जशुं (=जशुं) from यादृश. But I would prefer the derivation from सदृश; for the compound with सदृश is common in Skr., and यादृश, the Skr. original of जशुं, cannot form a compound; and just as कीदृशं has evolved the interrogative शुं through केरिसं, कइसं, कशुं, by dropping the क, सदृश appears to have similarly yielded शुं expressing the idea of similarity. In any case, the use of शुं to mark the relation of उपमान and उपमेय is hardly to be observed in works before the time of Premānanda, he was perhaps the first to use this mode, and even his use is not very frequent (certainly not so frequent as in some modern poetry); even Dayārām does not appear to indulge much in this formation. I should really like to be corrected if this result of my enquiry is defective or wrong. But, so far, I have not succeeded in discovering anything contrary to my observation noted here. (The instance quoted by me from Dayārām, No. (f) above, is but a rare one).

(3) and (4)—तथुं and केरुं.—I have already noted the detached use of तथुं (detached from the genitive link स as in तासतथुं); see *supra* p. 20 and p. 25. It will be seen therefrom that the use of तण without the स began as early as *Kāṇhadade-prabandha* (V. S. 1512). But we can take this use of तथुं further back to the period of the *Mugdhāvaśodha Auktika* (V. S. 1150), which has expressions like चैत्रतणवं (पञ्च गामि छइ), गुरतणवं (वचन हउं सांभलउं) etc..

केरुं, similar in use to तथुं, is somewhat in rarer use than तथुं; and we do not easily come across expressions like तासकेरुं as we do in the case of तासतथुं.

Of course तथुं and केरुं, as pure genitive terminations, have survived till now, but only in poetry. The instances from *Mugdhāvaśodha* given above as also others (e. g. ईहं स्त्रीतणे...शरीरइ in *Ardāgītrā*—see *supra* p. 50) show that तथुं was used in prose also during the fifteenth and neighbouring centuries.

(5) *र* as a genitive termination

This, even in old Gujarātī is of very rare occurrence Thus —

(a) पारसीकर देसनि राइ रानि कीधु भेट्य

(Bhalana's *Kādambari-purābhāga* p 55, l 21),

(b) कामिनीरि सुखगह्वि शीच्या बहुल विकासि

(*Ibid* p 92 l 15),

(c) पहिरइ एक कणयरी झूलि

(*Kankadee prabandha* IV—48)

(d) हरण अधूरा⁶⁷ यमणा जाइ

(*Vimala prabandha*, II—25)

(e) पचाली कारण बडवीर

ततिर प्रति प्यो चीर

(*Sudamā Sara* by Soma V S 16th Century)

(See the edition of Premamanda's *Suddam charita* by Mr. Manjula R Majmudar Appendix p 107 st 32)

The expression means — तातणाना प्रति : c तातणानी रहाने, बदलामा जेदला तातणा तेदला.

Several derivations of this termination *र* are suggested —

(1) कृत+र (the *taddhita* termination given in Pāṇini V—11—107) this turns into (कृतर) कयर, केरु (Guj genitive from Ap केर), and finally only the *र*

(2) कर (Skr suffix from कृ=to do as in सुखकर etc), the क getting worn out leaves *र* as a termination,

(3) कार्य(क)-केरभ-र,

(4) *र*, itself the *taddhita* suffix given in Pāṇini V—11—107.

As regards (4) there is the objection that *र* being originally a possessive (मत्वर्थीय) termination the genitive sense would involve an inversion of the relation between the possessor and the possessed,

67. Rao Bhādur K H Dhruva (Notes to Bhalana's *Kādambari purābhāga*, p 238) takes this अपूरा as अपूर् (Skr अपूर्=road+र termination. This is obviously a conjectural interpretation, and, if we discount its value, illustration (d) may be excluded

पारसीकर means "of the पारसीक," and not "that which possesses the पारसीक" This difficulty can be got over by the explanation supplied by Bhattoji Dikshita in the gloss on Panini V-11-94 where the several significances of मनुप् and similar suffixes are stated in the following stanza —

भूमनिन्दाप्रशस्तासु नित्ययोगेऽस्तिशायने ।

सर्वन्धेऽस्तिविरथाया भवन्ति मनुवाद्ये ।

The last significance सर्वन्ध will tide over the difficulty. But there is another draw back to assume that this र in the old vernacular is the inflect Skr र which is found in मधुर, उपर, सुखर etc makes rather a large demand on our credulity especially when there are better derivations available **

(1) and (3) differ only in the initial stage of deriving केरु, one derives it from कृत+र and the other from कार्य (क) The latter (3) is preferable as fitting in with probabilities as is so well shown by Dr Bhandarkar on the analogy of पर्यंत (Skr)-वेरन्त (Pr), आधर्य (Skr)-अधरेर (Pr) the आर्य of कार्य faring similarly as पर्य of पर्यन्त and चर्य of आधर्य, and turning into केरु **

The question then is between deriving from केर (Ap) and no (2) कर To derive the simple र from कर in preference to कर is hardly correct कर yields the र more easily especially as we have कर in Hindi and र in Oriya The change of sense of कर from "doer to belonging to is well explained by Dr Bhandarkar *°

[Dr Tassitori Notes § 73 (6) regards रड (रो) as a cur tailment of केरड]

68 R B K H Dhruva being in love with the pure र theory goes the length of believing that the genitive suffix कर in Hindi so frequently used by Tulsidāsa (see Dr Bhandarkar's Lectures pp 259 260) is composed of क and र, both severally signifying सर्व This is quite unnecessary, when कर (from कृ) is so well explained by Dr Bhandarkar in the pages just referred to (see K H Dhruva's Notes to Bhāṭṭa's *Kāṇḍikā*, p 238)

69 His Philological Lectures, p 257.

70 *Ibid* p 259

It is needless to repeat that this *र* suffix disappeared after the periods marked by Bhāṭana and Padmanābha.

(6) क This genitive termination is rarer than *र*, even in Old Gujarati.

भाजी देस देवकई पाणि (*Kāṇhāḍaḍe prabandha* 1 77)

(7) चो-ची-चु *genitive termination*.

This rather abnormal feature reveals itself in Narasinha Mehta's compositions and in *Vasanta vilāsa Sītā harana*, *Vimala prabandha* and *Bhramara Gita* : *e* in the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and early part of the seventeenth century. Thus *Narasinha Mehta* (V S 1471 to 1536)

(a) नरसैयाचो स्वामी मादरो जीवन मरकण्डा मने मारे रे

(*Śringāramāla* pada 332),

(b) मस्तक दुगटचो भार (*Chāturi chhātrīs* 14 3),

(c) माननीयांचा मान छोडाव (*Bdāḥlāḥlā* pada 21 2),

(c)-2 छंदरीयांचा स्वभाव एवा पीपुजी त्रिना न सोदाये

(*Śringāra Mālā* pada 128 at 4)

(d) दचिच्यु पात्र ते शिरधी दळिपु जी (*Chāturi chhātrīs*, 2 7)

(d)-2 बढडाचो भूषण सजनी

अळगो न मेलु दिवस ने रजनी

(*Śringāra mālā*, pada 97)

Vasanta vilāsa (V S 1508)

(e) चदन चटचु मीत (stanza 18)

(f) आकुडी मयणची जाणि (stanza 34)

Kāṇhāḍaḍe prabandha (V S 1512)

(g) तेदचा प्रेम अवार (III-234)

Sītā harana (V S 1526)

(h) पहिले तळचूं नाम at 1 at the beginning

Vimala-prabandha (V S 1568)

(k) पूरे मनची आस (1 19)

(l) कल्पवृक्षकुसुमांची माळ (1-50)

(m) सुनि लाप्यसमयची वाणी (1-95) (Same at the close of each *Khanda*, nine *Khandas* in all).

Bhramara-gītā, by Brabadeva (V. S. 1609)

(n) जे योगीयांची ध्याने नावे ते कृष्ण प्रीति व्रज वस्या.

The usual place for this च termination was at the end of a piece in giving the name of the poet as in (a) and (m) above. The rarer cases are such as are given in the remaining instances. The instances in (c), (c)-2, (l) and (n) may give the impression of identity with the forms in Modern Marāṭhī. But कुसुमांची in (l) is but an old Gujarāṭī neuter plural (in आं) plus the च for the genitive, and माननीयांचा in (c) and सुंदरीयांचा in (c)-2 and योगीयांचा in (n) have the old Guj. feminine plural of माननी and सुंदरी and masc. plur. of योगी plus the च for the genitive; the nasal in both, मां and यां is a weak nasal (ँ), while the Modern Marāṭhī has the strong nasal in such cases.

This च termination peeps out as rather an abnormal feature about half a century later than the last in the group of works noted above, in *Nala-Damayanti Rāsa* by Nayasundara (V. S. 1665):

(o) ययवि केवल तुहाचे काम सा दयिता हुं छंडु स्वाम
(VI-78)

As also in the same author's *Rūpachanda Kūtara-Rāsa* (V. S. 1687):—

(p) ते तुमची करणे बहु सेव (IV, *chopā* 27),

(q) हम पधारो तुमचे ठाम (*Ibid*, *chopā* 35);

(r) अहो रहे अमची स्वामिनी रूये रंभ समान (*Ibid*, *dihā* 5);

and at several other places.

This may be due to the tendency of Jain writers towards adopting old and nearly obsolete forms and words.

(8) हुं Ablative termination, or in absolute cases.

This form is found from the period of the *Mugdharabodha Aulika* down to the Jain *Rāsās* about the end of the seventeenth century of the Vikram era. Thus:—

Ablative:—

(a) नेह-तव-हुंतउ-थउ-थरउ इत्यादि चोलिवइ etc.

(*Mugdharabodha Aulika*; v. 8, col. 2) V. S. 1450;

(b) વાટળહંતુ યાન તેડાવુ

(*Kānhadade-prabandha*, II-78) V. S. 1512,

(c) જાણે શીદ ગપામાં હંતુ

(*Vimala prabandha* IV-92) V S 1568,

(d) ઘટલે રાજહસની રાણિ

શિતિ પુહતી હૂતરી આજાણિ

(*Nala Damayanti Rasa* by Nayasundhara *Prastāra* III, Dhāla 1 st 27) V S 1665.

Absolute case —

(e) હેદ હરં હૂતર

(*Arddh-Gītra* Gujarati translation, 33 9), before V. S. 1471, when the oldest copy was made [So also જીવતી હૂતરી 40 4]

(f) નઝ હંતે યોર સહુ સુણી

(*Nala Damayanti Pīsa*, by Megharāja, II-4, st 6), V. S. 1664,

(g) શ્રાવર હંતે સ્વ કર્યુ ય

(*Hiranyaya Sūri Rāsa*, 30-27) V S 1685.

The presence of હૂતર in the *Magdhīvabodha Aulūka* seems to be the earliest. Considering the fact that this manual gives તંડ, દૂતડ, ધડ, ધવડ, ૧૧ variants of the ablative suffix, we may safely conjecture that હૂતર had established itself well at that time so that it may be regarded as about half a century old at the time. The beginning of the fifteenth century (Vilrama era) is then the earliest limit of time. Its latest limit appears to be the end of the seventeenth century (Vikrama era) unless there be stray instances in later times.

This હૂતર is the evolutive of the Apabhramśa હોન્તર (*Si. H.* VIII iv 300 gloss), which Hemachandra has curiously neglected, regarding, in its stead the locative દા in જદા હોન્તર &c. as the ablative sign, as I have already indicated before.¹ This હોન્તર is the Ap present participle of Skr भ्रू (भ्रन्). It will be noted

71 See *supra* page 85, text and note 55

that it is therefore adjectival in form, taking the gender &c. of the noun it qualifies; हुतु खान (masc.), हुती राशि (fem.), and it governs the locative form (manifest or latent), आकाशि हुती, गफामाहि हुतु—manifest, and पाटणहुतु—latent. In (d) हुती आकाशि is an overversion of आकाशि हुती, to secure the rhyme with राशि, and it shows incidentally the semi-independent nature of हुती as a participial help word of the analytic stage, and not a synthetic termination (like थी of modern Gujarâti).

The instances of the absolute case are exactly cases of the locative absolute, हुइ हुतइ=पये छते, जीयती हुती=जीवती उते (the feminine is found with the locative suffix dropped), नळ हुते=नळ छते (where नळ is in the locative case with the termination dropped), आवरु हुते=आवरु छते-थईने (आवरु locative just like नळ). This use of हुत is not earlier than the fifteenth century, nor later than the seventeenth century, Vikrama era, so far as my inquiry shows.

(9) थरु *ablative appendage, or absolute case.*

(a) नखर निज मंदिर थिकु त जाणं तिजि वाटि

(*Sudayaratna vira charita*, belonging to a period before the *Mugdhdārabodha Auktika*)⁷²

(b) जेह तउ हुतउ यउ थकउ इत्यादि सोलिनइ

(*Mugdhdārabodha Auktika*, V S 1450)

(c) मोरे मंदिर स्थकी वृण सूकावसे

क्ष करजे रे पेली सोम्य गोपी

(d) मान रे माननी मान देउ घणु

न जाउ मंदिर स्थकी थोळ दीधो

(*Narasinha Mehtā, Aprasiddha Karṇa* V S 1470 to 1536)

(e) न विसरइ ते सुझ मनि थिकउ

(*Panchābhyaṇa*, 388, V S 1500-1550, Tessitori, "Notes" §72 (4))

(f) जाआहां थिकउ (Ibid, 641)

72 Chimanlal Dalal (Preliminary Report on MSS. at Pātana, P 34) considers this work to belong to the sixteenth century, Vikrama era. The forms अरइ, अरइ, सइ, अरइ &c. which are found in the work in profusion must place the work a good deal earlier, long before the *Mugdhdārabodha* period.

(g) भूपइ पीडइयां थकां कार्य नइउधिषां जोत्रिषां

(*Ardā Gīrā*, -Gujarātī translation 32-7.

Anterior to V. S. 1507).⁷³

(h) रत्नजडित चंद्रुआ थिकां दीसइ मोतीनां झुवकां ॥

(*Kūṅhadade-prabandha*, III-151)

(i) उपरि थिका सांचरि साहण वेगि पुहुता घाटि ।

(*Ibid*, I-191)

(j) एकवार आगइ दैत्य थिकू रामइ रत्न मूरुगिउ ॥

(*Ibid*, I-110)

(k) तिहां थिका राम संचरिया

(l) चित्रघोटि थिकू करिउं पीयाणं

(*Sitā-haraṇa*, by Karmaṇa; V. S. 1526; see *supra*, p. 85)

(m) नीइ थकु तय पइयु नीतरि

(Bhālāṇa's *Kūḍambārī* P. 29, l. 14; about V. S. 1500)

(n) सारंतरु राजा सवि जोडी दीन थका ते दाथ

(*Ibid*, P. 2, l. 28)

(o) श्रांत थकां मि नत्रि ह्रींदाथ

(*Ibid*, P. 24, l. 2)

(p) स्फाटिक भित्ति समीप रही पृथक् थको ते भासि नहीं

(*Ibid*, P. 88, l. 15)

(q) नेत्र पवळ थकां इ दीसि स्वभावि आरक्त

(*Ibid* P. 70, l. 12)⁷⁴

73. Mr. Muncherji P. Khareghat in his extremely instructive and illuminating perface to the Gujarātī version of this work points out over a dozen other instances. 51.4, 48 6, 53 8, 18 5, 53 1, 55.5, 4.21, 20.1, 27.4, 3.4, 3.5, 53.6, 53.7, 19.6. (18 5 is hardly apposite એને પુરુષ સડે ધાકી રહી; the expression ધાકી રહી here seems to mean stayed.)

74. In his note on નીડ થકુ (P. 29, l. 14, Notes, p. 212) Rao Bahadur K. H. Dhruva regards the ક in થકુ as a પ્રશિષ્ટ (interpolated) ક suffixed on to થિમડ. He obviously ignores the derivation of થકુ from થવજ્ઞ and the fact that ક would be elided, whereas જ્ઞ would yield the ક in Gujarātī.

(r) आव्यांछि आरासणि थिकां

(*Vimala-prabandha*, IV, 70; V. S. 1568.)

(s) त्रिणि वर दीधा पोतिइ थका (? थिका)

(*Ibid*, IV-72.)

(t) उत्पति सघळी ए स्थकी वळी प्रले धई एमां भले

(*Bhramara-gītā*, by Brahmadeva; *Aprasiddha Kāvya*, V. S. 1609)

(t)-1 च्यार रत्न लहिये तिहां स्थकां ॥ ३७ ॥

(*Sudāmā-ākhyaṇa*; Ms. No. 51 ख in the Forbes Sabhā Collection; date of copy probably V. S. 1710).

(t)-2 ते स्थकी अधीकुं मोरुलो

(*Chandraśekhākhyaṇa*, by Viśhṇudāsa; V. S. 1634)

(u) लाडुभा मदि थकु कइकु एक कूतरानइ पातिउ

(*Vallāṭa-panchariṭi*, about V. S. 1620, see *supra*, p. 47)

(v) ते ज सुत्रधार ते नावे बेडो थको

(v. l. बेडे थके)

(*Alke-Gītā*, pada I, st. 2, V. S. 1705.)

(w) भक्ति स्थकी पाताल चांप्या नीवारो संदेह

(*Vāmanākhyaṇa*; Premānanda, V. S. 1730 *Aprasiddha Kāvya*.)

(x) ए कोप्यो थको रे व्योम वसुधा बंने एकठां करे

(*Abhimanyu-ākhyaṇa*, Premānanda, V. S. 1727.)

[The present day colloquial use of थकु in expressions like हुं मोडो थको आवी जईश may be compared here with interest.]

It will be noticed that the word we are considering appears in the variant forms थकु (थकउ), रथकु (स्थकउ), &c.. The थ is obviously traceable to that in स्थकु, the source-word. The scribes are responsible, it seems, in some cases, for continuing this थ when it had ceased to be used most probably.

The ablative sense will be found in instances (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l), (m), (r), (t), (t)-1, (t)-2, (u) and (w); in (s) the sense is partly ablative, पोतिइ थिका

meaning, literally, out of (from) herself, i. e. of her own accord; and in the remaining instances the word ધરૂ (ધરુ) is used absolutely; in (b) the sense is absolute in a slightly modified way, ધિકાં being equivalent to સ્થિતાનિ, રહેલાં.

10 પાહિ, પાહિ, or પાઈ or પઈ, as an ablative suffix.

This is almost invariably used to mark comparison (just like the word "than" in English).

(a) इन्द्रजाय पाहि चपल

(*Indriya-parājaya-katala*, 86.) (V. S. 1556-1606)

(b) तुजइं जीव्यापाहि मरण रुइं

(*Datarakāśālika-sūtra* 1. 12) (V. S. 1156-1556).

(c) एक एक पाहि अधिक दीपइ

(*Sūtibhadra-chaupai*, 71) (V. S. 1556-1606)

(d) अमीरत पाहि अधिक

(*Ibid*, 175)

(e) आत्मा પૌં અધિક વાદાલી, તેજડ અંચાર

(*Bhāṭana's Kādumbari, pūrtabdhaga*, p. 69, l. 1)

(About V. S. 1550)

(f) માતા પાહિ તું અધિક

(*Bhīma Kavi's Prabodha-prakāśa*, VI, 28) (V. S. 1516)

(g) एकएक पाहि सपराणा

(*Kānhaḍade prabandha*, I-182) (V. S. 1512)

(h) યાવંતાં જે નરસુખ જાણિ

વળ પઈ તે(હ) હલુડ યાણિ ॥

(*Sudāma-ātāra*, by Soma, st. 25, as given in Appendix 1 to *Sudāma-charita* of Premānanda, edited by Mr. Manjulāl R. Majmudār)

[The editor gives વલપદ તેહ દુડ યાણિ and puts a (?) after it, evidently being unable to construct the reading correctly as given by me.]

Instances (a) to (d) are taken from Trevelyan's "Notes" § 71,

(8) and § 79. पाई obtained by the loss of the ह् in पाई is further reduced to पै in later literature; thus Akho has

(1) बाळरुपे घरडो ते शन्य

(*Chhappā, Vēda-āṅga* st. 58).

(2) मनिशपं देव उत्तम छरे

(*Ibid, ibid*, st. 71).

and Premānanda has

(3) अकेको कग जे तादुलतणो इंदासनपं मोघो घणो

(*Sudāmā-charita*, XII, st. 2)

(4) एरुएकपें अदकां मोती राजमाता ते टकटक जोती

(*Nalādhyaṇa*, LVIII)

and Dayārām has

(5) कोइकोइना गांश्या न जाय एम एरुएकपें बळिया

(*Hanumān-Garuḍa-Samāda*)

(6) आ जीव्यापें मूड मछं

(*Dhruvādhyaṇa*, by Tulsi. पूर्वउपयो IV, V. S. 1614)

But we find पै as early as Narasinha Mehtā also:

(7) तेंपें तो हूं हरिनो वहाळो

(*Hāra-mātā*, pada 2, st. 5);

but the genuineness of this work itself as Narasinha's is in question; and this form, पै, may lend support to this doubt, or, it may be that this form पै in this line is a modification of a later period.

This पै generally used to denote comparison expressed by "than" is on rare occasions used in the purely original ablative sense (उपादान), i. e. "from", e. g. सकळ इंद्रिपें छटो रमे.

(Akho; *Chhappā*; *Tuṭalāṅga-āṅga*, st. 4).

Tessitori derives पाई from पडे ("Notes" § 71(8)). Rao Bahadur K. H. Dhruva (p. 252 of his edition of *Kādambarī, Pārabhāga*) derives it from पापें (पापें would have been better). Both present the idea conveyed by the expression "by the side of" which indicates comparison, for you compare things by putting them beside one another. Marāṭhī पैथां (=than) coming from अपेक्षया (Skr.), may suggest अपेक्षया as the source of पाई. पाझि (=without),

old Gujarātī (as also modern Gujarātī among some classes), comes from પડે undoubtedly. Putting all these facts together I was inclined to accept Tessitori's derivation of પાહિં from પડે, which gives us પાહિ meaning "without" on the one hand, and પાહિં meaning "than" on the other. But in view of the instrumental or agentive sense of પાહિ in other cases, noted just below, I finally accept પાહે as the derivation of પાહિ.

[પાહિ, used as an instrumental or agentive suffix, traceable to the same પાહે, presents a change of sense.

- (1) પ્રતીદાર પદ લાગી તામ મહામચ સિંહાસનિ ઠામ
અલંકરણે નહનપપાહિ

(*Nalā-Damayanti rāsa*, by Nāyasundara, VIII, 34)

"had the throne adorned by Nalā, i. e. Nalā was made to sit on the throne."

- (2) બુ અરદાસ, પાસિ તુઘ્ર દીપી જે કાન્હડદે રાઢ

(*Kāṇhadade-prabandha*, I-140).

i. e. જે કાન્હડદે રાઢ તુઘ્ર પાસિ (=by you, through you, દશમારી કને-મારપત) દીપી તે અરદાસ થો. (પાસિ here clearly connects પાહિ with પાહે) This પાહિ as a suffix of the instrumental case became પડ also —પાચવા વેલા ઓગગદોસ માતપિતાપદે સંદાગ્ય સીસ ॥ (*Sudāmā śāra*, st. 23)]

This use of પાહિ, originally a suffix of the allative case, as one of the instrumental case, may be compared to the present day use of the ablative suffix થી for the instrumental, e. g. માગેલી કલમથી કાગળ લખ્યો.]

A similar transference of case-sense is noticeable in the termination હતિ as seen in the expression મન હતિ રઢિયાત found in more places than one in a poetical rendering of *Ardā-Gīrī*, a manuscript of which, belonging to Dr. Jivanji J. Modi, was shown to me by Mr. Behramgur Anklesaria. The date of the copy is V. S. 1801. The author, Rustom Peshotan Hormazdiyār (Hamjīyār) flourished about 1664 A. D.=V. S. 1720.

હતિ in these instances changes its ablative sense to the instrumental in the first instance, then to the locative.

(11) ओ—*Ablative ending.*

Tessitori thinks that this suffix is very rarely met with ("Notes" § 61); and cites —

(a) छणी सिंह कोपां जळि थयड

(*Pāṇchāḷhyāna*, 484 V. S. 1556-1606)

and

(b) ते दुख भोडीनी चेलीं सहिया पळी विळइ जाइ

(*Bālirabodha* to Nemichandra's *Shashṭi-satakā* 155)

(V. S. 1606-1656).

But Bhālāṇa's *Kūdambarī* (about V. S. 1550) abounds in this form —

(c) कुडम छेतां लीलां जेणि स्पसं हउ संग

(P. 15, l. 1.)

(d) बांळित वसुधां भोग

(P. 3, l. 16.)

(e) मिलासवतीइ प्रसव्य उत्तम चेलीं तन

(P. 49, l. 18.)

(f) ए सयला अनर्थ जयाइ अकेकलीं इ

(P. 70, l. 7)

(g) आंत थकां मि नवि होंडाय

(P. 24, l. 2)

(h) छह थयां द्विजकेर पात

(P. 27, l. 9)

Nala-Damayantī-Rāsā by Nayasundara, (V. S. 1665) furnishes forms in this suffix:

(k) पहिलां हरिपत्नी भोजनी निथळ मन तुजयुं मेळवी

(*Prastāva* III *dhdā* i, st. 45)

(l) रति नहि वैठां सभामांदि मीतयुं नहीं चित्त (II-11-4)

Ardā-Gītrā (Gujarātī version), before V. S. 1471, has the following:—

(m) चरोर पडइउइ जातां पलिपाच नही (4-24)

(n) अन्न अछतां तऊ राखे बीदतउ (4-48)

(o) जीणइ न्याय करतां नास्तिक्य अणउतउ रुडउ नीयउं (13-4)

Tessitori (Notes § 61) derives this suffix, *आ*, from Skr *स्मात्* through the Ap *हा* (given by Hemachandra in the case of pronouns) or from Ap ablative plural suffix, *aḥu*. The former, *हा*, has been shown by me to be a mistake of the locative.⁷⁵ Nevertheless it is possible that the *आ* came from *स्मात्* through a conjectural *हा*. The latter derivation may perhaps be more acceptable.

Pao Bahadur K. H. Dhruva⁷⁶ regards this *आ* as the evolnt of Skr adverbial suffix *अम्* found in words like *चिरम्*, *कामम्* etc. This is doubtful. The ablative sense cannot easily be extracted from this *अम्*. The *अम्* is really the precursor of M. Guj *उ*, as in *प्रथमम्* Skr *प्रेष्ठ* (Guj *adv*)

In the instances given above you will notice the change in the shades of meaning of this *आ* suffix, in some cases the sense is purely ablative as in (a), (d), and (h), in others it is instrumental, as in (c) (f), and (g), and in others again, it is locative or very much near it as in (b), (e). The *आ* in instance (k) is locative in significance while that in (l) is ablative first and then perhaps locative. That in (m), (n) and (o) is locative.⁷⁷ The instance (g) is very significant. *आन्त यका मि नवि होइय*. Here *मि* is distinctly instrumental (*मया*), the agentive form linked with *होइय* (passive) and the adjectival *यका* qualifying *मि* would necessarily be in concord with it, yet the *form* in *आ* is ablative and this in a way, heralds the instrumental or agentive sense of the ablative in *थी*, as in

75 See *supra* p 85 n 55

76 Notes to Bhāṇasa's *Kādambar* *pāṇa bhāga*, P 178, middle

77 Mr M. P. Khareghat in his Preface to the Gujarātī version, p, xix n 27, conjectures that this gerund is derived from the Prākṛit equivalent of the locative singular of the Sanskrit noun with the suffix *ति*, e. g. *जाता* from *यायाम्* "in going" or "while going", the locative of *याति*. In view of the analysis of the form given above, this conjecture can hardly be concurred in.

स्वराधी लक्षणे, which is peculiar to the potential mood. Earlier Gujarātī has the agentive in such cases; e. g.

देवी रीति त्रये भाईनी मई तो नव रहेवाय

(Premānanda's *Nalākhyaṇa*).

Forms like आवतां, जतां etc. as in

(1) भणतों पंडित नीपजे लखतां लहियो धाय

(2) रातां गाय रहेनी अकल जाय

In modern Gujarātī are nothing but the present day representatives of this old ablative form in અં.

It will be seen that the older usage covers the period between V. S. 1500 and 1665. Outside this period the usage would be a rarity.

(12) भणी in the sense of "for (=મટે)," "therefore."

Tessitori has the following instances —

(a) તેહ મળી (=therefore);

(*Chhāyā* to Hemachandra's *Yogaśāstra* (V. S. 1456-1556) *Dāldīabodha* to the *Indriya-parāṇjaya-śataka*, (V. S. 1556-1606) &c.);

(b) સ્યા મળી (=wherefore?);

(*Panchākhyaṇa*, 535, V. S. 1556-1606);

(*Adinātha-charitra*, V. S. 1556-1606);

(c) દેવદત્તનદ મિલવા મળી;

(*Panchākhyaṇa*, 298);

(d) રાજાના પ્રતિબોધના મળી ચુંદતદં ગાથા વહી;

(*Adinātha charitra*),

(e) શાખ સમુદ્ર તરવા મળી નીતિ શુદ્ધિ છદ નાવ ।

(*Panchākhyaṇa*, 5);

(f)-(1) આંણુલી કુહી મળી તેહ હરેં વીજડં નામ કોળી

રસિડેં પ્રસિદ્ધ દુડેં ।

(Sommasundara-zūri's Commentary on Dharmadāsa's *Viśaṣa-mālā*, *gāthā* 149; V. S. 1667).

The meaning is અંગલી વહી માટે રહેલ વીજું નામ 'ફોની' હેલું પ્રસિદ્ધ થયું.

The finger decayed, therefore his other name, viz. *khoni*, was published.

I cull the following instances from *Nala Damayanti P'dsa* by *Nayasundara* (V S 1665) —

- (f) પહિલિ તુજં વશિકરવાં મળી
મમિદિ દોડ દમયતી તળી (V m 76),
(g) પુરુષ મળી હું અઢગો રહ્યો (II, 13),
(h) ચાલ્યો તેહને વરવા મળી (VI 72),
(k) તે મળી લોકપાલ સુપ્રસન્ન
થાઓ એ સુજ પ્રહો વર્ચન (VI-80),
(l) તેહલ સ્વાગત કરવા મળી (VI 98),

and from the same author's *Rupachanda Kāvira-Rasa*
(V S. 1637)

- (m) હાજ તમી વહુંડું તે મળી
(IV *cl'opai* 15)

Of the above instances a majority, viz. (c), (d), (e), (f), (h), and (l), show મળી preceded by the infinitive participial form in અણ-કરવા મળી meaning કરવા માટે-કાજે, અર્થે, સારું. In the rest, i. e. in (a), (b), (g), (k) and (m) મળી is united with a noun or pronoun. The sense of માટે in the latter group arises out of an objective case-relation between the noun and pronoun with મળી as a verb in the conjunctive participial form પુરુષ મળી being originally equal to પુરુષ મળીને, પુરુષ કહીને, તે મળી=તે મળીને, તે કહીને, i. e. પુરુષ હું એમ કરીને, which meaning eventuates into the idea of causation, તે માટે=for that reason. In this connection મળી, as thus used may be compared with the Marathi म्हणून which bears the same causal sense, and which is the conjunctive participle of the root म्हण् derived from this very Sanskrit root मण्. In the former group, which unites મળી with the infinitive participial form of the preceding verb, the sense is also માટે, કાજે, અર્થે, સારું, arrived at through a slight inter-

mediate step, करवा भणी=करवु एम भणीने, कहीने, मनमां करीने, धारीने, this taking a natural thought turn and making it equivalent to करवाने माटे etc, though, correctly, it should be like करवु भणी, where करवु is the object of भणी. This is probably the result of a misapprehension, the eventual sense of भणी as माटे placing भणी in the same relation with the preceding word as माटे, though माटे, काजे, अथे are nouns in locative case connected with the preceding words in similar case concord ते माटे=तेहने माटे etc, therefore करवु भणी turned to करवा(ने) भणी, although भणी is not a noun in the locative case. (The case of सारु in करवा सारु, where सारु is adverbial, is similar in this respect to करवा भणी and would indicate the fact that भणी is not a noun in the locative case.)

A rather peculiar twist of meaning in this word, भणी, is found in a rare instance —

पाठला भवना वदराण संबन्ध भणी गर्भे नई महात्मियई
भरतारनों आँत्र पावानु दोहलव जयनु।

(Somasundarāśrī's Commentary on Dharmadās's *Uttara Mūla*, gāthā 149, V S 1567, Tessitori's 'Notes,' p. 101.) The sense of भणी here is "in consequence of" संबन्ध भणी=संबन्धने लीये.

Tessitori 'Notes' § 71 (4), regards this भणी as a contraction of the locative singular of भणियु (Ap past participle of भण्) and therefore identical in origin with the "so called conjunctive participle" I should say that this भणी is nothing but the conjunctive participle originally and then used adverbially with the special turn of meaning.

As regards derivation from the locative of the past participle, I shall simply say that the error here is the same as in the case of the derivation of the conjunctive participle करी(ने) type given by him (Notes § 131), I have already given my reasons for differing from him. (See *supra* p 58, n 27)

This use of भणी, viz in the sense of माटे, causation is now obsolete, it is not noticeable outside the period marked by the instances given above. But भणी has another sense adverbially in which we find it used in old literature and the sense and use are

continued upto the present day, both in written literature and colloquial usage. This sense is "towards," *तरफ*, "in the direction of," e. g. *घर भणी*=in the direction of the house; *शियाळ ताणे* *शीम भणी*, *ने कुनरुं ताणे* *गाम भणी* (popular proverb). The instances from old literature are given by Tessitori at the end of § 71, 15, but at least two out of them are not apposite; thus *चौद विद्या भणी* bears the obvious meaning *having learnt the fourteen sciences*, and *हित भणी* is translated by himself as "for the benefit (of)." The instances in point are:—

- (a) *चालियु वन भणी* (*Panchdhyāna*, 154);
- (b) *आवियु सिंह भणी* (*Ibid* 97);
- (c) *ते तेही अवजं तुम भणी* (*Ibid*, 538);

This sense, "in the direction of," easily follows the original sense, "having said," through the several steps, "having said to himself," "having thought," i. e. "thinking" (*करिने*); *घर भणी*=*घर छे एम करी ने*; therefore, *घर तरफ*—in the direction of the house.

The use of *भणी* in this sense has a further development, viz the addition of the genitive plus locative suffix to the word governed by *भणी*; e. g. *घरनी भणी*, just as is the case in *घरनी पासे* etc. This may lead one to regard *घर भणी* as a form where the *नी* suffix is dropped and to accept Tessitori's view that *भणी* is a locative form of the past participle *भणिय-भणियु*, the locative *नी* qualifying the locative *भणियु*. The instance given by Tessitori (§ 71, (4) last instance but one)—*देसाउरि भणि... चालियु* (P, 142)—would indicate this locative by the form *देसाउरि* (locative of *देसाउर*). But I am not prepared to accept this view. My reasons are:—

- (a) *सारं*, in the sense of *माडे*, governs the locative in a similar way, e. g. *म्हारे सारं* (*for me*), and yet *सारं* obviously is an indeclinable here, and not in the locative case.

and (b) This usage of suffixing the locative *नी* (genitive plus locative) in the case of *भणी* is, I believe, the result of misapprehension based on the similarity with other terms, *पासे*, *जोडे*, *माडे* etc.: (*घरनी पासे* etc.). In other words, *घर भणी* is not obtained by dropping the *नी* in *घरनी भणी*, but *घरनी*

મળી is obtained by adding the ની under the influence of false analogy.

(13) જમલો (૦લું), meaning (a) standing near, united
(b) equal.

Let us glance at the instances :—

(1) *Naraina Mehtā*, V. S. 1470 to 1586.

(a) હિંદોલે હિંચંતા રૂઢું જમલા⁷⁸ જાદવરાય રે

(*Hindolā-hā-pada*, 18-1)

(b) કામ વામણેલી ચાલી વહેલી, જમલાં જીવન જોઈ રે

(*Śringāra-mālā*, 253-2)

(c) જાણાં જીવન જમલી હંદાં ગમતી ગોઠવી કરનાં રે

(*Ibid*, 294-3)

(d) કામળ કરાં હું મંદર જાડં જાણાં તે જમલાં રહિય રે

(*Ibid*, 270-2)

(e) જાણું જમલાં રહીય જીવન મૂદરો મુંચી ખાણ રે

(*Ibid*, 306-1)

(f) વામળ તાયળાં કીકી માદે, જીવન જમલાં રહિયે રે

(*Ibid*, 307-1)

— (2) *Kāṇhadade-prabandha*, V. S. 1512

(g) જમલી સાલિ રીડ પરધાન

(IV-130)

(3) *Dafama Śāṇḍha* by Keśava, V. S. 1529

(h) સત્તાવન શ્રી ભાગવત રૂપક છે પ્રેવીસ ।

સોલ સ્વયંદત સંસ્કૃત જમલી કથા જગરીસ ॥

(XL-127)

(4) *Hari-līlā* (by Bhīma), V. S. 1541.

(i) 'આગા' 'એક', 'અલિલ', 'દુષ્ટ', 'રોગ', 'પ્રત્ય', 'ચાંચ', 'વૃદ્ધ', '૧',

તેડ કથાનાં લેઈ રૂપ માંદિસ સરોવર જમલુ કપ ॥

(stanza 42)

78. The Gujarāt Press edition has રૂઢું જ, મળ્યા—a reading which is wrong on the face of it. I have seen the correct reading in another Ms. collection.

- (j) પડિત ચોપદેય દ્વિજ એક વીણુ હરિલીલા વિવેક ।
તેણે આધારે મિ કરી વધા સરોવર જમલુ કૂડ વધા ॥

(વચ્ચુતિ, st 1)

- (5) *Vimala-prabandha*, V S 1561

- (k) ચદ્ર જમલિ⁷⁹ જેદવી ચાંદ્રણી

(V-82)

- (6) *Bhramara-Gatā*, (by *Brahadeva*), V S 1609

- (l) उदव कहे आइ दुख नागो जमले जाणो नरहरि

(II-4)

- (m) जती नदी जे दूर पेसे जमले थो जाणे नदी

(XVI-2)

- (n) જઝચંદ્ર જોમે જાણ જમલો નાથ અઢગો વ્યમ ધમે

(Ibid 8)

- (o) परदरो मोह अज्ञान, निहाळो जमलो थी भगवान

(XVI-pada Sumera rāga -2)

- (p) દસવે હરિને અવો ન ભાજતાં જીવન જમલાં અતિ વિરાજતાં

(Ibid, XXXI st 1)

- (7) *Nala Damayanti rāsa*, by *Naya sundara* (V S 1605)

- (q) अंत पुर दादाव थय सखीचन्द सवि जमलु रह्युं

(V dhala, III, st 98)

- (8) *Akho*, V S 1671 to 1731.

- (r) જમલો⁸⁰ છે જોજો જગદીશ હું પદછંદો ને તે રૂંચ

(*Akho Chhappā*, LXXVI, *Ātmā anga*, st 2)

79 The editor, in his notes, renders અમલિ by the word પાસે (by the side of) This is very near the intended sense, though it misses the original sense and its connection

80 Narmadāsankar, in his dictionary quotes these lines of Akho, and explains this word, જમલો as સુવલે, દુઠ્ઠ, વધુ મઢીને, i e 'in all, altogether,' which is obviously wrong The sense here is, 'Look! the Lord of the world is with you, you the shadow and he the Lord i e. you are shadow of God who is the substance Most probably Kavi Narmadāsankar has here been misled by the sense given in the glossary at the end of *Ātmā Bhagata ni Vāni* edited by Kavi Hirāchand Kānji in 1864 A D

Thus we find जमलो in the sense of "united," "along with" and in such other shades of meaning, all arising out of the original meaning "twins" (Skr. यमल). The other sense, "equal to" is one following from the same original sense; I have come across only one instance of it, but can not lay my finger on it at present.

The periods covered by this word, जमलो, range from Narasinha Mehtā down to Akho; the word is, however, in frequent use upto about V. S. 1600, and seems then to have gradually become rarer till it is lost almost entirely after the middle of the eighteenth century (Vikrama's era).

(14) हेज = हेत affection.

The present day word, हेत, is traceable to हेज from ह्य (Skr.), as I have already stated in a former lecture.⁸¹ This older word is found from Narasinha Mehta down to the latter half of the seventeenth century, Vikrama era. Thus:—

Narasinha, (V. S. 1470 to 1536)

(a) तज्युं अमज्युं हेज

(*Chāturi chhatrist*, XII, 8)

(b) हेज धरीने आदया आपार जी

(*Ibid*, *ibid*, 9.)

Bhāḷaṇa (V. S. 1500 and thereabouts).

(c) प्राणिमात्र विपिह अति हेज

(*Kādarba i pūrabhāga*, VI—122)

Kumudachandradevasūri-Rāsa.

⁸²(Beginning of the sixteenth century, Vikrama era)

(d) विपनक बोडिउ गाडउ हेज ह माडउ नइं तं भाणेज

("The Library Miscellany" of Baroda, II, 3-4; p. 118).

Vimala-prabandha, V. S. 1568.

(e) साद करइ मामा मन हेजि

(IV-91)

81. See *supra* Vol. I of this work, p. 463.

82. This date is assigned to it by the late Chimanlal Dalal; see the "Library Miscellany" of Baroda II, 3-4, p. 118.

Nala-Damayanti-Rāsa, by Megharāja V. S. 1664

- (f) સ્રજશક રસોદ્ ગીતી નઠ પાસે અતિ હેજે રે
(V-15)

15. મુજ in the sense of મુજને

This is only a representative word; for મુજ for મુજને, nay, અઘ્ન for અઘ્નને and મુઘ્ન for મુઘ્નને, are also to be found, as will be seen from the instances given just below—

Nala-Damayanti-Rāsa by Nayasundara, V. S. 1665.

મુજ

- (a) રાજહંસ નવદૂત ચિરંજય તેં મુજ નિજગુણિ ક્રીતી
(IV-ii-41)

- (b) મુજ ક્રિકર જાળી અ,વળો
(VI-57)

તુજ

- (c) પહિલ તુજ વશિકરવા મળી
(V-iii-76)

- (d) રાજન તુજ મિલવાને સહી
(VI-59)

- (e) તથાપિ તુજ પૂર્વે એક વાત
(VI-167)

- (f) તે ન ઘટે તુજ મીનકલ્પે
(VII-3)
(Kānhadade-prabandha, V. S. 1612)

તુહ

- (g) તો એક કારજ કહિયે તુહ
(VI-61)

અહ

- (h) જુ અહ આવી સીતલ મિલડ
(II-162)

(*Rūpachanda Kūvara-Rāsa* by Nayasundara (V. S. 1637):—

તુમ

- (i) સ્વામિ માહરે છે સ્વામિની તે તુમ તેજે ગજગામિની
(IV-Chopāī 20)

(j) नृप कहे पूछी आवो काज, कहे ते तुम कहैसे महाराज
(*Ibid*, Chopāī 21)

Panchākhyaṇa; V. S. 1556-1606; Tessitori's "Notes," p. 100.

तुझ

समुद्रसता मेल्ही नइ दरि इवं तुझ मिटवा आविउ भूरि ॥३४३॥

Instances need not be multiplied. This usage is evidently of frequent occurrence in Jain writers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Vikrama era. It has lingered on in occasional instances in non-Jain writers of a later period; e. g. Sāmala Bhatta has:—पाछं तुज भरधार (*Padmāvatī*, st. 48); V. S. 1774. तुज here stands for तुजने; तुजने भरधार तरीके मेळ्डुं being the sense; unless तुज be a mislection for तुं ज (thou only).

H. तुझे-मुझे (alternatives of तुझको-मुझको) may be compared with G. तुज-मुज (dative).

Prima facie the use of तुज, मुज for तुजने, मुजने would appear to fall under the Prākṛit and Vedic practice⁹⁹ of substituting the genitive for the dative, and not a case of dropping the dative suffix ने owing to metrical exigency. But the case of अज and तुज for अजने and तुजने will present a difficulty; अज-तुज are not genitive forms (like मुज-तुज), but they are merely the base-formations before the application of the dative suffix, ने. I am loth to regard them as exceptions, and more inclined to regard them as an index revealing the true aspect of this idiom, viz. that these forms are but the result of lopping off the ने suffix to suit the requirements of metre. For this reason I put this feature under (D), the presence of special words &c., instead of under (B) Psychological Changes.

(16) रेसि as a dative appendage generally.

This word, mentioned by Hemachandra, as a तादर्थ्यवाचक suffix (Si. Hc. VIII-iv-125) is found unchanged in post-Apabhramśa literature upto the last quarter of the sixteenth century, but even as such it is of comparatively rare occurrence. The few instances I have come across are as under:—

रेसि
as a dative suffix

83. See Si. Hc. VIII-iii-131—चतुर्थी: वडी, and Pāṇini II-iii-69—चतुर्थीये बहुलं दृश्यते [वडी स्यात् Si. Kaumudī.]

Vasanta-Vildsa, V. S. 1508.

(a) अभिनव परि शिगमारिअ नारीअ रमई विसेसि ।

चंदन भरइ कचोलीअ चोलीअ मदन रेसि ॥

(St 13)

Vimala-prabandha—V S. 1568.

(b) मोकलीआ परधान आपणा विमल मनाव रेसि ॥

(VIII-100)

Mādhavānala-Kāma-Kandāl dogdhala prabandha. V. S 1574.

(c) कालिज वट्टसि कूरदा छु उट्टुट्टु करेसि ।

ज्योति म खंचिसि दीयडा हु अ रखं पीउरेसि ॥

(V-187)

(d) निरखी निमल चंदद ऊगिउ अंवररेसि ।

(VIII-38)

It will be noticed that in (c) रेसि has the sense of "with" (perhaps derived from the sense "for" in a distant way) while in (d) it has a distinctly locative sense. As I have observed before (*supra* p 48) it may be that the original sense of रेसि was being forgotten in later ages, or it may be that the poet took bold liberties with the word as regarded its sense, as suited his own purposes. It is difficult to state definitely what was the cause, or अंवररेसि may be a mislecture for अंवरदेसि.

What could be the derivation of रेसि ? Dr Tessitori does not give this word in his 'Notes' among the

Its derivation

various words used for the dative case and

thus he can not help us here. I suggest a conjectural derivation. The conjecture is based on the indication supplied by the fact that रेसि governed the genitive form in the Prakrit e. g.

हव सिज्जइ तउ वेई पिअ तुहु पुअ अन्नह रेसि ॥

(Illustration to *S. H.* VIII-14-125)

Another indication is furnished by the fact that रेसि (alternative रेसि also given by Hemachandra) appears to be the locative form of some noun-word. I thus trace the word to रेपा (रेखा, the प and

स are interchanged as in तुषार, तुषार). रेसि (°सि) would be the Apabhramśa locative of रेपा (Skr.), Ap. रेसा.⁸⁴ M. Williams in his Dictionary gives, as one of the meanings of रेखा, "abhog, fulness, satisfaction." अन्तर्ह रेसि would thus mean अन्यस्य तोषार्थे, for the satisfaction of another, i. e. "for another." I leave this as a mere conjecture, with some foundation for it

[The governing of the geotivie by रेसि is very often latent, thus, मंडन रेसि stands for मंडनइ रेसि and मनावा रेसि for मनावानइ रेसि]

17. रहइ as a dative or genitive appendage.

This word flourished vigorously during the *Mugdhābodha Aulika* period and lasted upto the end of the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era in more or less frequency. The following instances will throw light:—

(1) *Mugdhābodha Aulika*—V. S. 1450

(a) अन्तर्ह जेह रहइ दान दीजइ । तिहो संप्रदानि चतुर्थी ।

(P. 3, col. 1, l. 4 from the bottom)

(a)-1. अवर्णान्त शब्द रहि ईकार हुइ ।

(P. 18, col. 1, l. 4 from the bottom)

(b) अवर्णस्वेषवर्णानिदोदरइ । अवर्णरहि इयणादिकचउसिउं

कमि एव ओव अर् अर् हुइ ।

(P. 8, col. 1, l. 6 from the bottom)

84. The locative इ(ई) is appended to words ending in आ; strictly रेसाई would be the locative. But we can postulate the stop रेस before the termination is taken on. In Modern Gujarati माहा becomes माळ (as well as माळा) बाळा becomes बाळ (as well as बाळा), रेखा becomes रेख (also रेखा), and this change may be conceived as occurring in older stages by way of anticipation, just as the front-ward shifting of इ prevailing in Modern Gujarati (e. g. गभीरके गोहरे-घेरे and the like) is found in the early Prākṛit stage by anticipatory process in घरे (Pr.) from गृहे (Skr.); or as the principle of apheresis is anticipated in एव and अएव (Skr.) and earlier still in argentum (Lat.) and रजतम् (Skr.); and the processes found in several other *utargas* which can be classed as सूक्ष्माप्युत्ति (see these Lectures Vol. I, p. 123).

And throughout the *Sandhu* chapter we find रई, रई, or रई, in the sense of a genitive appendage in 29 places in all.

(2) *Vasanta-tilāsa*, V. S. 1508.

(b)-1 वालंभ रईं छविचार

(st. 72)

[The metre here would call for the contraction रई. I believe रई came into vogue by such contraction, called for by metre, or resulting from hurried pronunciation.]

(3) *Shāṇḍarāśyaka-bāḍārabodha* by Hema-hansa, about V. S. 1515 (for the date of his *Nyāya Manjushā*, is 1515 V. S.)

(c) समवसरणि बइठा विहरमाण छइ तेह हूइ नमो कइइ माइरु
नमस्कार हु ॥

(3)-(A)—*Soma-Sundara sūri's Commentary on Dharmadāsa's Uraśsa-māla* (gāthā 149)—V. S. 1567

(c)-a आँगुली इही भणी तेह न्हई बीमं नाम कोणी इखिं प्रसिद्ध हूँ

(c)-b कोणी न्हई राज्य देवा

(c)-c एतलँ वानँ इत्तल विहल्ल बेटी हूँ आविषाँ

(c)-d बाप न्हई नित पाँच पाँच सई नाहीए मरावइ

(c)-e कोणी राय चित्तलणा माय न्हई कहइ

(c)-f ताइरा बाप न्हई तं ऊपरि एवढउ स्नेह हुंतउ

(c)-g रखमाळ आवी अणिक न्हई कहि

(c)-h ए वली कुण न्हई कदर्यना मारितइ

(c)-i कोणी राय न्हई मदापथात्ताप इव

In this exuberant list (c)-b, (c)-c, (c)-d, (c)-f, (c)-b and (c)-i are instances of न्हई as a dative suffix, (c)-a has न्हई in the genitive or dative sense; (c)-e and (c)-g have it in the objective (through dative) sense.

(1) *Bhaktāmara-bāḍārabodha*, V. S. 1577. (Ms. seen at the Baroda Central Library)

(c)-1 ते प्राणिया रहिं लक्ष्मी वरइ

(gloss on st. 44)

(c)-2 कमल रहिं विकास छानिया (?) करइ

(5) *Ardā Gîrā*⁸⁵ (Gajarāṭī translation) composed⁸⁶ before V. S. 1471.

(d) अनई जी पाय भोजन भर्तार रहई कीषडं

(41-5)

(e) तवस रहई देपाडवं

(4-31)

(f) मइ उत्तम रहई योग्यत (र) रहई भलापुख्य रहई अनइ
वाणिज्य करणहार रहई अनइ दुर्ल रहइ प्रतिवृति
प्रतिकार अनइ मान्यता कीषी मानउ दीधउ

(25-5)

and at numerous other places

In some places रहई in this work takes the function of the accusative case e. g.

(g) पुण तेह बालन रहई न देपई

(46-8)

(h) धान्यतणउ पूलउ गाइ रहई लाइवी दीषडं हू

(46-7)

(This (h) may equally well be regarded as a dative use)

(i) तस रहइ महापाउ लिउ

(2-14)

85 The title of the work is *Vardf nāmā* also *Ardā Gîrā* means "Holy Virṛṣ". The insertion of *g* and the elision of the final *f* is thus explained to me by my friend Mr. Behramgur T. Anklesaria Artak, 'Artak' added to lengthen the final *a* derived from Avesta *arēta* (Vedic ऋत), *ardā* being the adjective in Pahlvi from *arēta*. The *k* was turned to *g* in the Sanskrit version and tacked on into the *V* of *Vardf*, thus the Pāzand *Ardā Vardf*, becomes *Ardā Gîrā* in the Sanskrit version. The *f* was elided through confusion between *Vardf* and *Vira* (Persian) = a hero, but was retained in the alternative term *Vardf nāmā* (*Vardf nāmāk*, where the *k* represents an *h*).

86 See Mr. Muncherji P. Kharegh's Preface in the edition of this work published by the Parsi Panchayet pp. vi, and vii, where it is stated that the copy in the possession of Mr. Behramgur Anklesaria was transcribed in V. S. 1507 (I have seen the colophon myself also) and a still earlier Ms. H1, was transcribed in V. S. 1471.

(j) व्याघ्र तत्र रहई छाउं (०४)

(2-15)

Mr Khaleghât notes (Preface, p. xi, last line) that in this

Did नइ exist along with रहई? Sir George Grierson's view discuss work 'the modern ने and its predecessors नइ and नइ for the dative are entirely absent. This is very significant, as fixing a date for

the work perhaps earlier than the *Mugdhdvabodha Auktika* I say perhaps because the नइ that is found in that *Auktika* gives the genitive plus locative formation and not the purely dative one, which though its origin is the genitive-locative combination, has an independent status of its own, and Sir George Grierson appears to have misunderstood the passages wherefrom he quotes the instances of नइ as a purely dative suffix. I must quote him —

'Dative—*sukha na* for bliss,—*jaha tatsu na parityoga śūchī*, for what thing abandonment is indicated.

In the following instance the dative is used for the accusative : *Kāśana bolu* in saying the letter : *7."

Now, as regards the first instance, *sukha na* I must set forth the original passage fairly in full

॥ जेह नइ कारणि किया वर्तत धर्म हुइ । * * * । तिहां संप्रदाने चतुर्थी । * * * । धम्म सुखनइ कारणि हुइ । * * * । विज्ञानइ कारणि धम्म हुइ । सुखनइ । तिहां चतुर्थी । धर्म सुखाय भवति ।

The सुखनइ printed in black type by me here is the object of misunderstanding. Sir George thinks it an independent pure dative form meaning "for bliss," whereas, correctly understood, it stands for सुखनइ कारणि, the word कारणि being taken as an *adhyāhāra* from the previous sentence. The tenor of the whole

87. L S I Vol IX, Part II, p 355 Sir George held the same view six years before the year of publication of L S I Vol IX (1908 A D), for in JRAS, 1902, A D, at p 541 he has these very observations. In fact, the article of 1902 A. D. is reproduced bodily in L S I, IX, II, pp. 853-864.

88. *Mugdhdvabodha Auktika*, p. 8. col. 8 carried over into col. 4.

discussion shows this to be the correct view For the line of discussion is this —

'Dharma' makes for bliss (literally 'for the purpose of bliss') For the purpose of what does *dharma* act (lit become) ? To this the answer is — (for the purpose of) bliss'. The word कारणि is left unrepeatd because it has just preceded, all the same it is required by way of *adhyahara* any arrangement short of it would disturb the equation of ideas

Similarly कडणनइ कारणि मोक्षनइ and किसानइ कारणि मोक्षनइ in the same paragraph have कारणि as an *adhyahara* after मोक्षनइ and मोक्षनइ.

The fact is that as early as the period of this *Auktila* the Sanskrit dative termination had lost its synthetic existence and कारणि or some such word following a genitive plus locative form had taken its place analytically thus सुखाय Skr = सुखनइ कारणि (later Ap) = सुखने माटे (Modern Gujarati) In the case of verbs meaning to give a pure dative was expected and for this the word used was दइ, not नइ in those days thus we have जेह दइह दान दोनइ (p 8, col 1 l 4 from the bottom) and not जेह नइ yet

[During later periods दइ and नइ are found side by side though the latter is rare and in a slightly restricted sense

Thus —

चाप दइह नित पोंच पोंच सइ नाडीए मरावइ ।
इछिउ कोणी राय नइ बेटउ जाणु छइ ।

(Soma sūndara suri's Commentary on Dharmadasa's *Ucāsa* mātā gāthā 149 V S 1567)]

The third instance *skira nai boliva*⁸⁹ is also incorrectly understood⁹⁰ इकारनइ is a genitive locative combination adjectival in function, qualifying बोडिनइ which is the locative of the verbal noun from the root बोड् the expression meaning in the speaking of the sound इ i.e. when we speak words end इ at the end (as expressing place time &c).

The second instance is somewhat doubtful⁸⁹ वस्तु नइ परित्याग is hardly the proper idiom नइ as dative even would not be

89 *Mugdhārabodha Auktila*, p 4, col 2, l 2

90. *Ibid*, p 8 col 2, l 1, from the bottom

appropriate here and I should not be surprised if the correct reading was वस्तुनञ् (of a thing).

I may, therefore safely conclude that रद्द (रद्द) flourished without any rival termination like नद् (नद्) during the *Mugdhāva-bodha* period, and *Ardā Gīrā* may be assigned to that period approximately.

Of the two senses of रद्द, dative and genitive, which was the primary one and which secondary? Dr. Teggator regards the dative sense as the primary one.⁹¹ Sir George Grierson inverts the order and regards the genitive sense as the primary one.⁹² Mr. M. P. Khureghāt takes the opposite view, regarding dative as the primary sense and says —⁹³ "Even in the cases quoted by Grierson from the *Mugdhāva-bodha* रद्द can be rendered by the dative माटे". The question can be easily settled by considering the derivation of रद्द. Several derivations are in the field, —

- (a) रद्द derives from रसि
- (b) रद्द traced to रक्षित
- (c) रद्द traced from अरद्द which is traced backwards to
 - (1) अयंनेन or अयंके
 - (2) locative of अरद्द (adj.) meaning "near, lying on this side" from Skr. *apāra*, through Ap. *avāra* Gr.-cf. Guj. *oro, odo, Sindhu oraho, odo*.

To examine the relative merits of these four suggestions, first of all I take

- (a) रसि. I suggested this derivation in an article in the

91 "Notes" § 71, (6), and § 73, (7)

92. L S I Vol IX, Part II, p. 355, where under dative he says. "After a verb of giving the genitive termination *rahaḥ* is used to indicate the dative," whereas for the genitive he gives *rahaḥ* and *rahi* as the suffixes used in the *Mugdhāva-bodha*

93 His Preface to the Gujarātī version in *Ardā-Gīrā* (collected Sanskrit writings of the Parsis, Part V) pp. xi-xii note 15.

"*Vasanta*" (a Gujarati magazine) some years ago,⁹⁴ only in the form of a question. The points in favour of this derivation are —

- (1) *रेसि* is given by Hemachandra (VIII-iv-425) and *रहि* or *रहइ* is not found in his time; it (*रहइ*) is found in full swing in the *Mugdhārabodha Auktika* (V. S. 1450). *रहइ* must therefore have arisen in the intervening three centuries, and, no other word being found, *रहइ* must have evolved out of *रेसि*.
- (2) स can easily change to ह. The fact that *Vasanta Vilāsa* (V. S. 1508) has *रेसि* (st. 14) as well as *रहइ* (st. 72) may not necessarily militate against this derivation. Such co-existence of parental and derived words is not unusual.
- (b) *रक्षित*—This derivation is laid down by Rao Bahadur K. H. Dhruva without assigning any specific reasons.⁹⁵ The only consideration he advances is that *रक्षित* is one of the words coming as the latter member of a चतुर्थीतत्पुरुष *samāsa*.

I am afraid this is a very weak consideration. *गोरक्षितं* would mean 'kept for cows', but how this position of *रक्षित* would transfer the dative sense to the suffix is not understood. Besides, *रहइ* cannot be traced to *रक्षित* very successfully from the point of view of phonetics, though *रक्षितभ*, *रक्षिभ*, *रहिभ*, *रहइ* are possible steps. But the final *anusvara* on *रहइ* suggests a locative or instrumental sense in the word itself and this is missed in this derivation.

(c)—(1) and (2). These are suggested by Dr Tessitori,⁹⁶ and after some discussion he has rejected (1) in favour of (2). He seems to have adhered to (2) finally.⁹⁷

94. Vide the number for *Kārtika* V S 1970, p 564, note §

95. Vide his Notes (p. 270, II 4-6) to Bhāṣa's *Kādambarī*, *pura bhāga*.

96. Vide his article on "The origin of the Dative and Genitive Post positions in Gujarati and Maravadi" JRAS, 1913 A. D., pp. 564-5.

97. Vide his "Notes", § 71, (6), which were written after the above article, and where he offers only (2) and makes no mention at all of (1).

I have no hesitation in preferring (1) and of the two alternatives, the locative अर्थके as the best and most probable derivation of रहई. It satisfies all the conditions, the locative sense in expressions like तेह रहई (तस्य अर्थ), and easy phonetic evolution, अर्थके-अरथइ-अरहइ-रहई.

No. (2) is far fetched and does not satisfactorily bring out the sense of तादर्थ्य ("for"ness) which is the essential meaning of रहई. Thus I am inclined to accept अर्थके as the origin of रहई, if रोति is regarded as less probable.

Thus the dative sense fits in best with the derivation of रहई, तेह रहई=तस्य अर्थ, *for his benefit, for him* and therefore the dative is the primary sense. The genitive sense is easily obtainable by a slight thought turn. It is not the same thing as the use of the genitive for the dative in Vedic and Prakrit usage, where it is a mere substitution without reference to the sense of the termination as in the case of रहई.

This²² concludes my examination of the final test (D), viz distinctive words marking particular periods

98 The seventeen distinctive expressions do not supply an exhaustive list, they are the prominent features useful for our purpose. There may be minor features not included in the above examination. I may note one such, as being of special interest, it is the use of के—के in compound sentences to suggest alternatives, as in the English idiom which uses "either-or". Such use is not known to modern Gujarati literature. I give some instances.

(a) के आ वन छंडी जा परो के शुद्ध करवा सज धा खरो

Nala-Damayanti Rāsa by Naya sundara I-II-44 (V S 1665)

(b) हीया भीतरि दय बले धूया न परगट होय

के हु जायुं रे सखि के जिनि लाया सोय

(*Ibid*, V, *duhd* 3 at p 227 of *Ānanda Kāvya Mahā ladhī* Vol VI)

(c) खोउ मन ने लेवि वस्तु नाख्य न सक लाये न अस्त

के तूटे के अटे न आदय अखा हरि अये हडिउ कादय

(*Akha, Chhappā, Prathī Arga*, st. 5 S 1671 to 1731)

This के—के, confined evidently to the latter half of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth, has a small range of time, and is now supplanted by का—का or कां तो—का तो (e.g. कां जीवउ

Applying all these tests to the whole range of literature passed under survey by me above, I am inclined to adopt the same division of periods which I indicated in my Presidential Address at the *Fifth Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad* in 1915 A. D.⁹⁹ These are :—

1. *Apabhramśa*—upto V. S. 950 ;
2. *Middle-Apabhramśa*.—upto the thirteenth century of Vikrama era ;
3. *Antima or Gurjara Apabhramśa* } V. S. thirteenth century to V. S. 1550 ;
 (=Dr. Tessitori's }
 'Old Western Rājasthānī') }
4. *Early Gujarātī*—V. S. 1550 to V. S. 1650 ;
5. *Middle-Gujarātī*—V. S. 1650 to 1750 ;
6. *Modern-Gujarātī*—V. S. 1750 and after.

I need not say that these divisions are not intended to be water-tight compartments. By its very nature, language must shade off by degrees from one period into another. On the other hand, I am not one of those who, under misguided devotion to their mother-tongue, contend that Gujarātī language began as early as Hemachandra. A mere glance at the specimens of the early periods will show us that it would be preposterous to give the name of Gujarātī to the language of those stages. At that rate one may go further back and claim that the early Prākṛits,

कां मावुं, or कां तो जीवुं कां तो मावुं). This कां is traceable to the *Apabhramśa* form काइ from Skr. किम्. The form के (=or) is a variant of का in a way ; का (Kāthirivadi) =कैम्? belongs also to the same group, all coming from किम् (Skr.). Bearing all this in mind we can at once reject as erroneous the use of वहाँ (वद्=where) in the form कां तो—कां तो, which Sārat and Drcach people employ under a misapprehension, because with them वहाँ is वहाँ and a desire for correct speech misleads them into turning कां (किम्) to वहाँ (where).

99. See the Address, p. 28, embodied in the Report of the *Fifth Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad*.

SUPPLEMENT TO LECTURE V, SECTION I

(I) Page 9 last para.

Gurjara Apabhramśa.

My attention is just drawn to a paper on "*Gujarātī bhāṣhāno janma*" (1905 A. D., published in 1908 A. D.) written by the thoughtful Parsi scholar, Pahlānji Barjorji Desai, wherein at p. 8 he speaks of ગૌરજરી (*Gaurjari*) as identical with modern Gujarātī. It is obvious that the learned writer has ignored the difference between the *Gaurjari* mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya and modern Gujarātī, not having noticed the important stages of evolution between the two. For Mārkaṇḍeya (1450 A. D.=1506 V. S.) must have seen the language of the *Vasantarilāsa* and *Kāṇhaḍa-de-prabandha* s'age, far removed from our present day Gujarātī.

It seems that Barjorji Desai has followed Sir George Grierson, who calls *Gaurjari* a dialect of *Nāgara Apabhramśa* and parent of Modern Gujarātī in his chapter on Language in the *Census of India Report* (Vol. I, Pt. I, Chap. VII, § 503, p. 305), and in an article on the *Mugdhārabodha mauktika* (sic. Auktika) in J R A S, 1902, p. 537 (reproduced bodily in L S I, Vol. IX, part II, pp. 353-364) he speaks of Hemachandra's *Apabhramśa* as *Gaurjara Apabhramśa* (on what authority, it is hard to conjecture), and who yet in his main treatment calls it *Nāgara Apabhramśa* (p. 327, L S I, Vol. IX, pt. II); and all this in spite of the fact that Hemachandra does not use the name *Nāgara* or *Gaurjara Apabhramśa*.

II P. 17, n.

At the end add—

Dr. Fleet's editorial foot-note runs as under:—"A curious instance of this carelessness stares one in the face on the very title-page where the name of the work is given in Roman character as "*Mugdhārabodha Auktika*" but in Devanāgarī character as "*Mogdhārabodha-mauktika*."

The latter form occurs also at the end of the work, while three lines above there is again 'Auktika.' As the title-page declares this book to be 'prathamam mauktikam,' the real name seems to be *Mugdhatābodhamauktika*."

To show the error of the conclusion arrived at by Dr Fleet here, it will be enough to point out

- (a) that the name in Devanāgarī characters on the title-page (सुधावबोधमौक्तिकम्) means सुधावबोधम्+औक्तिकम्; the first part meaning सुधानामवबोधो यत्र (a *bahuvrīhi samāsa*),
- (b) that the same form in Devanāgarī at the end of the work is explainable similarly
- (c) that the word औक्तिकं occurring three lines above the end is part of a metrical line which runs thus —

औक्तिकं व्यपित सुगुह्यते श्री—

and (a) that प्रथममौक्तिकं is but H. H. Dhruva's own expression to show that this *Auktika* was the first "pearl" in the *Prachina Gujarati Sāhityaratna mālā* contemplated by him

III. Pp. 32-33.

पुहुचइ

Again Hemachandra has प्रभौ हुप्पो वा ॥ ८-४-६३ ॥ प्रमुक्त्वस्य सुबो हुप्प इत्यादेशो वा भवति ॥ प्रमुत्वं च प्रपूर्वस्यैवार्थः । अंगेष्विभ न पदुप्पइ । पक्षे पमवेइ ॥

This, I believe, is really a mistake similar to that in the case of भुव पर्याप्तौ हुच्च (VIII-iv-390). पदुत्त (from प्राप्त SLr) evidently yielded पदुप्प as well as पदुच्च, त evolving into प्प under *Utsarga* VI of class O (vide Vol I of these Lectures pp 337-340).

Si. Hc. VIII-iv-416 illustration 1 has जमइ राणेण पदुच्चइ दूभइइ. Here also प्राप् fits well into the meaning. Hemachandra renders पदुत्त by प्राप्त in his gloss in *Kumārāpāla charita* II, 91 and VIII, 15. This is very significant in favour of my view.

Gauḍa vaho has पदुप्प in the sense of पर्याप्ति in several places;

अगाई विणहुणो वामणत्तणे पित्तममात्त थउराई ।

मइहोपरे-ण पदुप्पन्त-सुवण-भरिआई व जयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥

THE DATE OF LAKSHMĪDHARA.



At p 133 of this volume I have stated that Lakshmidhara flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century I placed undoubted reliance on the conclusion arrived at by K. P. Trivedi in his Introduction to the *पद्मपावन्दिका* I regret this For a mere examination of the reasoning employed by K. P. Trivedi would have shown me the unsoundness of it This is his reasoning

"Lakshmidhara has based his work upon that of Trivikrama and both are quoted in the *Ratnāṣṭana* by Kumarasvāmin, son of Mallinātha Mallinatha flourished in the sixteenth century, for one of his verses occurs in an inscription of A D 1532 This makes Lakshmidhara a contemporary of Mallinātha (Introduction p 17)

This line of reasoning is obviously faulty The fact of being quoted by Mallinatha's son may show Lakshmidhara to be anterior to the son, or even to Mallinatha But even if Mallinātha and Lakshmidhara were contemporaries, the date for Mallinātha cannot depend on his being quoted in 1532 Any one can quote a person who may be centuries anterior

As a matter of fact, however, the date of Mallinatha is shown to demonstration to be the thirteenth century A D Mahel Duff, p. 189, says—

"V S 1298 Birth of Narahari, son of Mallināth, and commentator, under the name of Sarasvatītirtha, of the *Kāvya Prakāśa*" And the reference given is P R 1-25, i e Peterson's first Report

on Sanskrit Mes, p. 25. Peterson gives there a full account of Narahari's parentage, as given in his commentary of the *Kaṭya-prahāsa* Rameśvara of the Vatsa gotra, his son being Narasimha-bhatta, who was father of Mallinātha, the father of Narahari. His (i.e. Narahari's) birth-date is thus indicated

सवसु ग्रह इस्तेन प्रद्युम्ना समलंकृते ।

⁸ = ⁹ ¹ ¹
काळे नरहरेर्जन्म यस्य नासीन्मनोरमम् ॥

(The figures are marked by me)

Thus V. S. 1298=A. D. 1242 is the year when Narahari was born. Mallinātha must therefore be twenty five to thirty years of age at the time. He must have flourished thus by the middle of the thirteenth century. Lakshmidhara must consequently be assigned to at least a few years before 1242 A. D. I would therefore alter the middle of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Thus the span between Hemachandra and Lakshmidhara would be about a century. For, according to Śāstri Vrajādī Kālidās in his *Gujarātī Bhāṣā no-Itihāsa*, p. 40, Hemachandra wrote his grammar of Apabhramśa in V. S. 1168 (A. D. 1112).

कंठेचिय परिघोडइ पुणरुत्तं पहरि साउ लक्ख लिया ।
अपहुप्पन्ति एव मंहे वाया पहुणो पंससाउ ॥ ८४७ ॥

The commentator renders ण पहुप्पन्ति in st. 16 by अपयाप्ति, and अरहुप्पन्ती in st. 847 by अप्रमवन्ती. Evidently he is occasionally obsessed by the error of regarding पहुप्प as derived from प्र+भृ. In st. 464 the commentator adopts the rendering पर्याप्ति. In st. 69 the commentator is evidently wrong in rendering महुमह विजय पउत्ता वाया as मधुमध विजयाख्ये मत्तम्ये पर्याप्ता वाक्, for पउत्ता here is not पहुत्ता, and obviously stands for प्रउत्ता.

The *Gauḍa-vaho* is assigned to 700-725 A. D. by S. P. Pandit (see p. c of his Introduction). The time of the commentary is not known (p. v of S. P. Pandit's *Critical Notice*), but it is evident that he flourished long after Hemachandra. It is therefore safe to conclude that पहुप्प was in vogue in the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. and पहुप्प long before Hemachandra, but their true origin was mistaken by Hemachandra and the mistake continued unnoticed down the centuries after Hemachandra.

From all these cumulative data we may conclude incidentally that (a) the प्रथेप (interpolation) of ह and (b) the formation of the root-stem from the चान्त forms of Prakrit were anterior to Hemachandra.

As regards (b) *Si. He. VIII-iv-230* (सकादीनां द्वित्वम्), which notes सकइ लमइ, सुकइ and the like, really marks this reverse process of forming roots from the चान्त forms.

Shadbhāṣā-Chandrikā III-i-58 has पर्याप्तिं सुवो बहुच्छ; no illustration is given. The same work gives विच्छ for Hemachandra's विचच (Skr. वरमेन्); it seems that the author, Lakehmidhara (who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century), has aspirated the च in both and softened the प of पहुच्छ to व. He also shares with Hemachandra the error of regarding भृ as the source of पहुच-पहुच्छ.

IV. P. 38.

After line 4 add:—

तिजइ at p. 121, l. 5 for तिजि is a similar lapse on the scribe's part.

V. P. 48.

Noticeable Points; (2). Add:—

or अंवररेति may be a mislection for अंवरदेसि.

VI. P. 56 and n.

(a) It is noteworthy that while चोडतोडे, rural usage in Surat District, is चोडेडे in classical usage, the negative in the latter adopts the present participle and not the °ति form: thus we all say चोलने नथी and not चोले नथी.

(2) M. करतो (=करीत आदे) comes from कन्तव (Pr.)-कुर्वन्कः (Skr.). It is remarkable that this form in the ओ ending is an exception to the general rule in Marāṭhī which evolves the आ ending from भव; (e. g. घोडा M. घोड्ड Ap., घोडकः Skr. (see vol. I of these Lectures, P. 215). This exception is in noteworthy contrast with Hindi which retains the आ throughout; thus:—करता है.

(o) Siodhi (कोरपो) also has exhausted the potency of करे, but added, not आदे (S. for ऐ G.), but थो (=स्थितः Skr.). Kanarese has माडुत्ताने (माडु=to do), माडुत्त (pres. part.) आने (termination for third person singular, masculine), feminine माडुत्ताळे, neuter माडुत्तदे. What is आने, (आळे, अदे) ?; they could not be from हू (Kan.)=to be. Like the Skr. ति, सि, मि, they must be synthetic terminations from old words in an analytic stage. Yet, the gender variation (आने, आळे, अदे,) would point to a distinction and some adjectival formation.

VII. P. 56. note.

After (4) add:—

(5) उच्यते तत्र यथाकामं नैषयो द्विपदा वरः ॥

Nalopākhyāna (in the *Mahābhārata*) IV, 42.

VIII P. 74.

(a) To the instances of Sanskrit-like passive concord add:—

(8) तुं मोकलियोछे घन नाथि

(*Nala Damayanti-Rāsa* by Nala Snodara V-III-51)

(9) प्रियवरनि ! तुं तारे काम
मोकलियोछे नटमहाराज,

(*Ibid*, V-III-57)

(10) सा कन्याए हूं पूछियो

(*Ibid*, II-1-14)

(11) हूं भणाव्योछुं भूदरे

~ (*Abhimanyu-ākhyaṇa*, by Premānanda, V. S. 1727)

(12) पूख पुण्य पसाउते मे पाम्यो तुं कांत

(*Rupachanda-kurāṇa Rāsa*, by Nayasundara, IV, *duhā* between *chopāis* 17 and 18)

(13) पहिल राइ हूं अवगणित

(*Kānhadade-prabandha*, I-25)

(14) ए चेतुराई शीखी किहां

(*Nala-Damayanti Rāsa* by Nayasundara VI-178)

NOTES —

I. In instance (9), हूं मोकलियोडे is a curious advance on the correct concord हु मोकलियोडे. It is perhaps a stepping stone to the modern idiom (म्हने मोरह्योडे) नुल्ले छे is a mislection for हूं.

II Instance (14).—Damayanti says to Nala ए चेतुराई रहमे क्यदा शीखी where रहमे is in the instrumental case, which is equal to modern रहमे क्यदा शीखया where रहमे is in the nominative case. This instance is to be distinguished from the others. For, in (14) शीखी is passive, but in modern idiom (रहमे शीखया) शीखया would be active (=निश्चितवान् Skr.), taking शिक्ष=to teach, (Vedic), the subject in the nominative and the object in the accusative (without any termination), while in instance (13) modernized into राये म्हने अवगण्यो, the verb remains in the passive form the subject in the agentive (राये) and the object in the objective with the ने termination, and yet preserving its concord in gender and number with the passive participle (see remark at p 75 *supra* on हु छल पाम्यो)

(b) In Gujarātī the participle in नार (°अनकार, °अणहार, °अनभार °नार) is used sometimes as a finite future tense e.g. ए घेर अनारछे. This is psychologically akin to the Skr.

future in *तृच्*, गेता=*will go*, though etymologically the two are different.

IX. P. 88. Before the last para—Add :—

There is another instance of shifting from the synthetic to the analytic formation in modern Gujarati. *હલવામાં આવેટે* represents a periphrastic passive formation, obviously analytic. The help word here is the root *આવ्*=*to come*, in contrast with *યા*, *જા*=*go*. Marathi also has *करण्यंत येतें*.

X. P. 94, last para but one; add

સિં appears occasionally even at a later period : *કામિનિ સિં* *ક્રીડા કરહ*.

(*Mādhavānala-Kāmalondalā-dogdhola-prabandha*, p. 112, l. 2 in the Ms.; V. S. 1574).

XI. P. 97. I find a rare instance of *ઘું*=*like* in an early century work:—

કરહ તે [હ] માણસસિં વાત

(*Panchākhyāno*, 351)

V. S. 1556-1606, Tessitori "Notes" p. 103.

Here the context shows that *માણસસિં* means *માણસજેવી* not *માણસાથે*; though the neuter gender of *સિં* (not agreeing with the feminine gender of *વાત*) would show that *ઘું* is used adverbially in the sense of *માણસની પેઠે*.

XII. P. 98. After (e) and remarks thereon, add:—

(f) તે भारी वेचीनई सुतार रइ परे आब्यो ॥

(*Panchākhyāno Vārtika*, edited by Dr. Johannes Hertel; Story VIII, p. 16, ll. 10-11.)

(g) आजरी रातई पर दल न भांजू

(*Ibid, ibid*, p. 17, l. 21).

The work ends with the copyist's colophon which gives *Samvat 1730* as the date, evidently of copying the work, which appears to have been composed in the sixteenth or seventeenth century of the Vikram era; the word *રોગન* (=varnish) at p. 16, l. 4-5 from the bottom, which is Persian, incidentally closes a fairly late period.

(NOTE:—At p. 98, (D)—(b),—ह is a misprint for र).

XIII. P. 100. Under (6) क genitive termination add:—
रणकी खनी

(*Nalā-Damayantī-Rāsa*, by Nayasandara; II-i-9.)

XIV. P. 101. Before (8) हंतुं—add:—

This च termination appears in Rājasthānī *Dīngalā* literature, in spite of the generally used termination र. Thus *Veli Kisana Rulamanī rī* (V. S. 1637 or 1638 according to different Mss.) by Prithirāj Rāṭhaḍa, presents the च termination in the following among other, instances:—

(a) कुण जाणै सँगि हुआ केतल देसदेस चा देसपति ॥

St. 87,

(b) बालकति किति हंस चौ बालक ॥

St. 12.

(c) एकान्ति वचित क्रीडा चौ आरँभ ॥

St. 178.

(d) सगपण ची सनसि दकमणि सजिधि ॥

St. 183.

XV. P. 105. Under पङ्गु add:—

जोतां थकां

(*Panchākhyaṇa Vārtika*, p. 16, l. 7; edited by Dr. Johannes Hertel.)

XVI. P. 106 पाँहं=than.

Before (a) पंत:—

आकास पाँहइ अघइरु तेजवंत अउइ

(*Arḍā-Geirā*, 56. 17; date of copy V. S. 1471).

also add:—पाँहं=than is found in *Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā doḍḍhakṛ-prabandha* (V. S. 1574); p. 112, l. 2 in Ms.

XVII. P. 112. Under भणी add:—

(n) जीर्ण पट्टा भी भणी

(*Bhāṇa's Kīdamdari*, p. 16, l. 11).

(o) भागी भणी तेदनी मीटि न चडिउ

— (p) धन नवि खरचइ छोवी भणी

(*Vimala-prabandha*, III-74)

(q) राती दिवस रछય પર મળી

(*Ibid*, III-12)

(r) તવ વેતાલ કહે સ્વા મળી

વાત કહો વિક્રમ તેહ તળી ।

(*Vaitāla-pancharisi*, st. 175).

માટે is similarly used:—

મિત્ર માટઈ.....શુભની વાત કહી.

(*Panchākhyaṇa-Vārtika*, p. 16, l. 11, edited by Dr. Johannes Hertel).

મિત્ર હતો, માટે is the sense.

XVIII. P. 112, last para; l. 3; before "In the rest" add—

In (e).-1 મળી is preceded by an independent sentence, આંગુલી જુદી and connects it with the subsequent sentence.

XIX. P. 115. Under જમલો, after (g) add:—

(g)—a.

સ્નાન દાન દેહાસર કરી જમલિ રહી સત્રિ અંતેડરી ॥

(1V-208)

(g)—b.

જમલી રહી કરાવિઉ દાઢ

(III—210)

(g)—c.

ન કો અંગરસ જમલુ રહ

(I—24)

(g)—d.

હમટ તેહવા જમલા

(*Premānanda; Dīkṣā-haraṇa*; XXV—2.)

(g)—e.

ધન્ય ધન્ય જે જમલો હુવવાર

(*Trikṣṇadās; Parvata-pacifi*; V. S. 1750—1855)

XX. P. 119, l. 11, after the sentence "તુમ here stands for મુખને," &c., add:

Similarly मुज for मुजने is found in Premānanda:

कृष्णे रे ज्यारे मुज तरलोव्यो त्यारे धरवा मनोरथ टाला रे ॥

(*Nāṇi Dharmara-Gītā*, in *Prāchīna Kāvya-sudhā*. Part I, p. 11; edited by Mr. Chhaganlāl V. Rāvalā.)

Also Sāmra Bhaṭṭa has a similar idiom in

मुज परणावी परवरो

(*Padmāvatī-ni Vārtā*; st. 361).

NOTE.

(A)

P. 72 and p. 89. The passive form in आय्. My view that य् (traceable to या = *to go*), and not the आ in this formation, is the element which functions the passive sense, has to face one or two serious objections: We find forms like बोलाइ, कराइ and the like in works¹ as far back as the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era; whereas the substitution of आय् for इयइ is stated by Dr. Teggiori and myself as marking the period distinctive of Gujarātī proper. Again, it may be fairly contended, the इ in बोलाइ really represents the ति of the present tense, third person singular, and this इ turns into य् by *prati-samprasāraṇa* and gives the modern form बोलाय; thus there is no place here for या = *to go* as the source of the य् in the passive form.

I believe I can answer these objections. First then, this old form बोलाइ is comparatively rare in the earlier works. Then, I trace the form बोलाय through the following series:

बोलायइ [बोलाइइ], बोलाई, बोलाइ, बोलाय.

For, just as, on the one hand, we have बोलीयइ [बोलीइइ], बोलीइ (य turning to इ by *samprasāraṇa*), so, on the other, we have बोलायइ, [बोलाइइ] बोलाई, बोलाइ, बोलाय (य turning into इ in the second step, and इ again into य् in the last); the इ before य् in the first series as well as the आ in the second being the *āgama*, and य् the

1. For instance:—

तिणि अयसरि गजरपर राइ सारगदे नामि बोलाइ ।

(*Kāṇhādāde-prabandha*, I—13.)

V. S. 1512.

representative of the passive forming *य* = *to go*. When *बोलियइ*, in turning into *बोलिये*, gave up its passive third personal sense and became the first personal plural present tense form, the language gave up this form for the passive use, and adopted the form with the *āgama* *आ* viz: *बोलाय*. This vindication of my view has a further support in the fact that it satisfies the consistency of the whole chain (1) to (9) given at p. 88 *supra*.

Pages 72 and 73; before the last para;

Add:—It will be noticed that in the case of the roots ending in vowels (*आ, इ, ए, ओ*) there is the *āgama*, *ए*, (necessitated by the facility of pronunciation) before the *आय्* suffix, in present day Gujarātī in Gujarat proper, and that in the form current in N. Gujarāt given above the *ए āgama* is over and above the *ए āgama*.

(B)

P. 88. Number (3) in the chain of passive forms.

I. ("करीयइ Ap." should be omitted.)

II. करिज्जइ (Pr.) करियइ (Post-*Ap.*)

I believe the steps between these two are *करीजइ, करीयइ*. If so, are we right in calling the *इ* preceding the *य* in the form *करियइ* an *āgama*? For, it appears but a mere shortening of the *इ* in the second step. However, the original *इ* in *करिज्जइ* was undoubtedly an *āgama* as also in *द्रियेत्* (Skr.) and so we are not quite wrong in calling the *इ* in the last stage also an *āgama*.

Dr. Tessitori, "Notes", §, 136, holds the same view in the matter of the relation between *इज्ज* and *इय*. The only point on which I differ from him is the view that the *ज* was turned into *य* because it was a mere clerical substitution, a view which I cannot share.

LECTURE V

History of the Gujarātī Language
Its Evolution (continued)

(SECTION II)

In the course of the foregoing discussions in the first section of this Lecture I have dealt with the several case terminations in the Gujarātī in an incidental way only. I should now enter upon a specific examination of these terminations especially with regard to their derivation. First take the nominative. To all external appearances there is no indicative termination for this case, and we may accept that situation as final. However, I may remind you of what I have said before¹ regarding nouns and adjectives ending in ઓ. I have said that the ઘોડો type is really the form of nominative singular and it is by a constant habit, as it were, that it has taken the place of a base word. The same remark will hold good for words ending in ડે, પાંડું, સાણુ and the like, *mutatis mutandis*.

As the nominative singular form is, generally, the recognised base in Gujarātī, it will be convenient here to touch this point before examining the other case-terminations with reference to their origin. It may be noted that sometimes the Sanskrit nominative singular and sometimes the Gujarātī nominative singular and again sometimes the Sanskrit base-word, takes the position of base in Gujarātī. Thus ઘોડો (Gujarātī nominative singular) રાજા (Skr nominative singular), and હરિ (Skr. base word), represent the base in Gujarātī. The following tabulated arrangement will show the state of things at a glance —

As the Base-word.

Guj. Nom Sing.	Skr Nom Sing	Skr base word
ઘોડો	રાજા	હસ્ત
હાથ	મગરાનું	હરિ

1 See Vol. I of these Lectures, p. 216, last para

Guj. Nom. Sing.	Skr. Nom. Sing.	Skr. base-word.
चन्द्रमा	जगत्	भानु
यश	करी	
पादं	पिता	
	माता (fem.)	
	कर्ता	

It will be seen that Gujarati idiom will not admit of राजन् or चन्द्रमस् or यशस् as the base, and formations like अहमन्तो &c. are unacceptable to correct Gujarati.

The oblique form for these base-words is to be found only in the case of घोडो and पादं type only, which change the final vowel to आ (घोडातुं, पानातुं etc.), the other words remain unaltered before the oblique case-terminations. I have already explained the reason of the आ change in oblique cases.*

[An interesting contrast between the oblique form in Gujarati and that in Marathi is noticeable. While Gujarati turns the stem ओ to आ in oblique cases and preserves the अ stem unaltered, Marathi turns the stem—अ to आ and the stem आ is altered to या. Thus:—

Gujarati Stem	Oblique	Marathi Stem	Oblique.
घोडो	घोडा (घ-ने-पी-मां)	घोडा	घोड्यास घोड्याला घोड्याचा
देव	देव (ने-पी-तुं-मां)	देव	देवाला देवास देवाचा

Marathi has the या sign in oblique cases in words ending in ई also: पाणी-पाण्याने, पाण्याचे etc.. This या modification is traceable to an analytical arrangement still in vogue which unites the noun with the declensions of the pronoun हा (=this), plur. हे, forming या in

the *sandhi* process with the oblique modificant आ. Thus रामचन्द्र विष्णु गोडबोले + genitive suffix will be गोडबोले,सांचे (यांचे). Gujarâti writers under the influence of pioneer Marâthi scholars who composed Gujarâti texts and grammars in the early days of the Educational Department, and also under the present day influence of Baroda writers, adopt this periphrastic formation, which is quite un-Gujarâti. Thus they would write आनन्दशंकर भुव एओए रच्यु instead of आनन्दशंकर भुवे रच्यु.]

Before plunging into the oblique case suffixes and their origin,
The vocative. I may touch the subject of the vocative formation in Gujarâti.

There is no termination for the Gujarâti vocative, except that in the case of nouns ending in ओ or डं (i. e. the evolutes of the क (अक) ending) the final vowel changes to आ to form the vocative. Thus:—

(1) घोडा ! येगे दोडजे पळानजे मुज कंध

(2) देडका ! देडका !! म्हाडं सरखुं तुं ते कूरी कूरीने केडलं कूरीश ?

words ending in अ remain unchanged in the vocative:—

(1) अरे राम ! शुं करुं ?

(2) नाथ ! जागो, नाथ ! जागो, बाणो दो आभासनी

(*Mahâbhînishkramana, in Nûpura-jhankâra*

by Narsinharao Bholanath).

Similarly, words ending in other vowels (vowels other than अ or आ) remain unchanged in the vocative:—

(1) राजा ! त्हारी आण जग आयामां वर्तती

(2) पिता त्हने शुं कहुं बारवारे ?

(3) हरि ! हरि ! आ शुं ययुं ?

(4) हे साधु ! तुं धर्मपी चळीच नई.

It will be interesting to compare with the Gujarâti vocative formation, the same in Marâthi and Hindi:—

Marâthi.—

(1) बाळ्या ! तुला काय सांगु ? (Base- बाळा)

- (2) देवा हो ! जयदेवा हो (Base-देव)
नाथा हो ! दीन नाथा हो ! Base-नाथ)
(3) रामा ! रामा ! रघूत्तमा ! रामा ! (Base राम and रघूत्तम)
(4) कपीन्द्रा ! खली आदे कीं सद्युणतरु वा राम (Base-कपीन्द्र)

Hindi —

- (1) अरे लाले मनसुखे (Base-छाया and मनसुखा)
(2) भाल तिलक अरु टपरी
नाथ ! तुमि जानत हो सबरी (Base-नाथ)
(3) नाथ ! कैसे गजको बष छुड़ायो (Base-नाथ)

[Note — Āpabhramśa turns the final अ of nouns to आ in the vocative as also in the nominative —

Vocative-ढोला मई तुहु वारिआ मा कुट दीदा माथ

Nominative-ढोला सामला धण चपावणी]

There is an exception in modern poetry (and occasionally in dignified prose) where

- (a) the अ ending is lengthened into आ in the vocative, most probably in imitation of the Marathi idiom
and (b) the Sanskrit vocative is adopted in the case of words ending in अम् आ (fem), इ (masc) ई (fem) and उ (masc) the object being to lend classical dignity to religious and similar writings

Instances—

Under (a)—

- (1) अनाद्यन्ता ! देवा ! अत्रपम अविद्या धर्मी परा !
(*Īśvara-prārthanā mālā Anla I* by Bholanath Sarabhai)
(2) छतर शिव मगल गुण गाउ ईश्वरा !
(*Hridaya vīna* opening poem Narasimharao Bholanath)
(3) पूछ हू प्रभ प्रेमे पूँजी तुज पद दे ! पडिता शाली शाना
(*Vīramati Nīṭaka*, I-III, by Navalaram)

Under (b)

- (1) हे परमात्मन् ! तारु कीर्तन तारी स्तुति अमे शु करि सविये ?
(*Īśvara-prārthanā mālā Anla XXI* prose prayer
by Bholanath Sarabhai)

- (2) ते अन्धकार मर्दि ऊँ उँ निदाळे,
ऊँ जळे निरखती रद्दी शुं हुं वाले ?

Hridaya-Vinā p 14, st. 4-I, l 4, Narasimharīo Bholānāth

- (3) कृपानिधे सन्मति नित्य आषो

(Iśvara-prārthanā-mālā, Anka 211)

- (4) क्षमा देवि ! क्षमा देवि ! शपो दे भुज मस्तके

(Hridaya vinā, p 22, st 21, Narasimharīo Bholānāth)

- (5) उपासं तने प्रेमधी हुं प्रभो दे

(Iśvara-prārthanā-mālā)

It is possible to carry this attempt at Sanskritized vocative to a ridiculous extreme, by ignorance of Sanskrit grammar, as will be seen in the following instance —

विधाते मेवी ए तन सतत ! आला रस रूपे

समपेहं लेजे जीवन रसखोळे अनुपमे !

(Indulūmāra-nāṭaka, I II, p 26, by Nānālal D Kavi.)

The error here appears to have arisen out of the fact that विधाता the base word in Gujarātī, instead of being referred to the Sanskrit विधातृ (which must have विधातः as the vocative), is mistaken by the writer for a Skr. word ending in आ (feminine) like बाधा, माधा and the like.

Oblique case terminations, their groupings

We can now attend to the oblique case terminations in Gujarātī. These are.—

Cases		Terminations
Objective	(द्वितीया)	ने
Instrumental or Agentive	(तृतीया)	ए
Dative	(चतुर्थी)	ने
Ablative	(पञ्चमी)	धी
Genitive	(षष्ठी)	नो-नो हुं
Locative	(सप्तमी)	ए, मा

I shall divide these terminations into three groups.

(I) the हुं group, (II) the ए group and (III) the single group.

(I) This हुं group will include the objective, the dative and the genitive terminations,

- (II) This ६ group will include the instrumental agentive and the locative (६) terminations, and
 (III) This will include the ablative થી and the locative મા terminations

The reasons for this grouping will be apparent in the treatment itself

(I) The ૩ group.

The basis of this group is the genitive termination, ૩. For, the dative, ને is but a combination of the genitive ૩ with the locative ૬ followed by some unspoken word meaning *હિતે*, *અર્થે* this word being in the locative case and the વિષેષ્ય of the word with the genitive termination. Thus —

(a) *બ્રાહ્મણને ગાય આપો* is really a contraction of *બ્રાહ્મણને [હિતે, અર્થે] ગાય આપો*,

(b) *રાજાને ગમો રાણી, તે છાજા ધીજતી આણી*, here *રાજાને* is equivalent to *રાજાને [મને]* (=રાજાના મનમાં) or some such expression,

(c) *યશોદરા રાણીને હુંવર છાપણ્યો*, here *રાણીને* stands for *રાણીને [હિતાર્થે or the like]* similarly *વાળિયાના છોકરાને રસ્તામાંથી ફીરો જણ્યો*, where *છોકરાને* would mean *છોકરાને [સ્વાર્થે or the like]*

(d) *ગુરુ શિષ્યને સીજેડે* is a contraction of *ગુરુ શિષ્યને [અર્થે] સીજેડે*, where *અર્થે* stands for a generic idea not *લાભ* or *benefit*, *આવડાને માર્ગ બતાવો* is a contraction of *આવડાને [હિતાર્થે] માર્ગ બતાવો*

(e) *મોહનલાલ માસ્તરે મ્હારા મગનિયાને સાત સોટીઓ મારી* here *મગનિયા* the receiver of the beating, gets it, not as a welcome but an unwelcome thing none the less the recipient is the person getting the 'benefit' of the action, in a perverted sense, hence *મગનિયાને* stands for *મગનિયાને [અર્થે]*.

Instances (e) and (f) may be regarded by some as falling under the objective case, the verb therein being taken as *દ્વિકર્મક*. But, minutely examined, the *ગૌણકર્મ* in such cases is nothing but a *સપ્રદાન*, *શિષ્યને ધર્મ વપરેડેડે*, or *છોકરાને માર્ગ કહેડે* are really instances where the word with the ને termination represents the party profiting by the action the receiving party and therefore the *સપ્રદાન*. Similarly *પાર્શ્વને પશ્ચાત્તાપ થાયડે*, *છોકરાને વચરો વાગ્યો*, *રાણીને મદ્દ*

दु ख यय and the like will furnish under microscopic examination various minute shades of the idea of recipient ship which is the basis of संप्रदान and the dative case formation

This is but a stepping stone to the next member of the group viz the objective case termination ने The संप्रदान nature of the गौण कर्म shades off into the position of कर्म, and eventually there are forms where the संप्रदान nature is entirely absent and the कर्मत्व prevails absolutely Thus in पेला भिखारीए राजकुमारीने छजामा ऊभेली दीठी the formation राजकुमारीने is no longer a dative case but purely objective राजकुमारीने being the object of the act of seeing None the less the ने termination is to be regarded as the residue of a combination of ने and some word conveying the idea of recipient ship which serves us a link between the object राजकुमारी and the act of seeing Thus the objective ने is but a farther outturn of the dative ने This will be perceived forcibly when pure objective forms are placed in contrast where the case formation is entirely lost हु रोटी छोड़ भाई चोपडी बाचे Here रोटी छोड़ and the like are instances of the true objective case they are the कर्म of छोड़ बाचे etc the objective termination अम् (Skr) having disappeared through the Apabhrāṃśa and post Apabhrāṃśa evolutions (except in the case of words ending in क in the neuter gender where they preserve the अ in the अव ending e g सच वक़्त)

Thus then ने (objective to a limited extent) and ने (dative), being the offsprings of हु (genitive) we need
Derivation of हु (dative) into the derivation of हु (genitive) only
 (genitive formation) It is recognised on all hands³ that this हु is derived from the Apabhrāṃśa तण meaning संवधिन् (Si He VIII 15 422)

3 Bhandarkar & Wilson Philological Lectures P 257 middle Beames Vol II p 288 and L S I Vol IX Pt II p 328 paras in small type Dr Hoernle derives नो नी हु from विष्ण (J A S Bengal XII part I p 142 and preceding pages) This derivation has the merit of वीजलाप्य as the same root कृ accounts for the Hindi का Rājasthāni रो, Bengali र, and Gujarāṭi नो But the universally accepted तण cannot be lightly discarded,

Dr. Tessitori however strikes a dissentient note⁴ as regards the original of the dative suffix, *ने*, and, rejecting the orthodox view, advances a rather bold theory. In fairness to a scholar of his ability and erudition, I must examine his theory thoroughly. His theory is

- (A)-(1) That the dative suffix *ने* was derived from कन्हइ-कन्हि found frequently in O W R₁ in the sense of "near", from , &ca, कन्हइ itself being derivable from Skr कर्णे, the sense being fixed on the analogy of Skr अपिकर्णे (Rig-Veda अपिकर्णम् n) the region of the ears and then, near=behind the ear, back from behind,
- (2) and that this sense of "near" was confused with the meaning of the dative case

Instances are given by him to mark this confusion —

Sense of "near" —

1. मिथ्यादृष्टि लोक कन्हइ थाक्कि वसिवउ न्हों
2. चतुरक कन्हि पूउइ वनधणी
3. इन्द्र मागइ जिन कन्हइ दक्षिणा ए.

Dative case meaning —

4. आवइ तिदां कणि (he goes there)
5. भगवन्त कन्हइ आवी कइइ (having gone to the venerable one)
6. लीउत्रादिक कन्हइ जइ (having resorted to wife sons, &ca)

(B)-(1) That कन्हइ-नइ had two senses (1) dative, (2) agentive, in O W. R₁ नइ did not have the agentive sense it developed in later times (He quotes one instance from T 700 (p 10a)

आदीभर नइ बीया लीपी जाणी (=आदीभरे, लीपी),

(2) that the agentive sense is a filiation of the ablative instead of the dative

His reasons —

- (a) instances of ablative कन्हइ already given

4 His "Notes § 73(5), and his article on "Dative and Genitive Postpositions in Gujarātī and Mīrānādī J R A. S 1913 A D. pp. 553 ff.

(b) if we think of a phrase such as मइ बाप (क)न्हइ सांभलिउ मइ गुरु (क)न्हइ दीक्षा लीयी, we shall see how easily it can be turned into बाप नइ कहिय or गुरु नइ दीक्षा लीयी. Further, Dr. Tessitori adds,—the fact is that in मइ गुरु (क)न्हइ दीक्षा लीयी there are practically two agentives of which the grammatical one मइ is only apparent while the other, गुरु (क)न्हइ, is the real performer of the action ; and (3) Dr. Tessitori gives (according to him a conclusive evidence in favour of कन्हइ (as the origin of नइ) by quoting a *pāda* of a *chaupāi* from the Panchākhyāna —

वाटई नई एक निरमल नीर

("Close by the road [there was a lake of] limpid water"), 286.

He thinks he proves by this —

(i) that नई is a substantive in the locative like कन्हई,—for, says he, if it were the genitive postposition नो (<नउ) it could not be used so that ease separately,

(ii) that it is a real post position, for if it were compounded with the noun it governs the latter could not have been inflected into the locative case,

and (iii) that it is capable of being used 'pleonastically' that is after a word inflected into the same case, just like the agentive ने in High Hindi after the instrumental of the personal pronouns, (मइनइ-मैने=Guj मई, by me).

(C)—I *Genitive suffix*, नो—Dr. Tessitori says that नो (genitive suffix) cannot have come from तणउ, because

(1) there is no possible reason to account for the cerebral passing into the dental,

and (2) नो is peculiar to Gujarāṭī and is not found in those dialects of Rājasthānī which possess both तणो and (क) नइ.

He concludes from these considerations

(a) that नो is posterior to (la)n(h)a which certainly existed in the language from which both Gujarāṭī and Rājasthānī originated.

and (b) that नइ and नउ being congeners, it is नउ that sprung from नइ, and not the opposite.

(In a footnote Dr Tessitori cites 'भगवत नह तेमउ भव' 'this is the 18th existence of the venerable one' to show the genitive sense of नह)

(O)-II Dr Tessitori seeks corroboration of his derivation of नो from कन्ह-नह in the fact that in O W Raj poetry तणउ is used when possession is meant while नउ is used when the general idea of place or services is involved (He cites instances) and in this latter (place origin agency) क-ह is used commonly Therefore he concludes नउ is allied to क ह

The view examined and refuted Now let us examine all these theories and arguments one by one —

(A) The derivation of क-ह from कणे may be accepted as a working basis the analogy of Vedic अविकर्णम् is perhaps a little thin Be that as it may the statement under (2) viz this sense of near was confused with the meaning of the dative case cannot be accepted as correct The instances especially numbers (1), (3), (4) (5) and (6) will clearly show that कणि and कन्ह present a clear meaning of 'near' Only in number (2) कन्ह appears to slide into न in the matter of sense This mere coincidence must be looked at with serious suspicion as there are grounds to be shown farther below for accepting a truer derivation and rejecting this one Dr Tessitori traces ने-नह from कन्ह-कह by the dropping of the unaccented initial syllable (क), this is very plausible hint for reasons just indicated, I have to reject the source-word itself

(B) (1) and (2) This makes rather a large demand on our imagination It is very far-fetched Besides the whole relation of receiver and giver is inverted in the process of interpretation put forward by Dr Tessitori For the agent of the action हेतु is मइ (I), and not गुरु who is the agent of the action देतु (giving of the दीक्षा). Here we see a confusion between the two acts हेतु and देतु or rather between the हेनार (receiver) and the देनार (giver)

(3)-(i), (ii), and (iii)—

Dr. Tessitori has gone astray all along here. The personal pronoun stands on a different footing. A noun cannot have such double inflection. Again (ii) and (iii) are mutually conflicting. But, the greatest error has arisen from Dr. Tessitori's taking नई in the line from the *Panchākhyana* (वाटई नई एक निरमल नीर) as a suffix derived from नई. Such an interpretation gives no fitting chain of ideas to the sentence 'on the road,—near by—one(?) pure water.' To cure this defect he has to import, unauthorizedly, the idea of "a lake" in rendering this line. All this trouble was unnecessary. For नई here stands for नदी (a river) "on the road (to the way) there was a river with limpid water."—is the sense, the *anusūdra* of the इ of नई being evidently a mislection. I drew Dr. Tessitori's attention to this interpretation in a private letter dated 10th March 1919, asking him to give the line before and after this one to see if there was a word there meaning 'a lake', and in his reply dated 21st March 1919 he generously admitted his mistake. He said—

"You are right नई stays for नदी in the passage quoted by you, as is clear from the fact that, three lines below the text has the phrase नदी बंदि. I was misled by the *anusūdra* on the ई, and I am very glad that you called my attention to my blunder."

Thus the whole fabric raised on this single error tumbles down.

(O)—I (1). I have shown a number of instances of ण going back to न (यौवन (Slr.), जोषण (Pr.), जोवन (Guj), स्तन (Skr.), धण (Pr), धान (Guj), &c. &c.)⁵.

(2) This, if intended as an objection, has really no force in it. There is no reason why all the dialects should possess all the peculiarities. Gujarati could evolve नो out of तणो while the other dialects had तणो and नइ.

Dr. Tessitori's conclusions —

(a) and (b)

⁵ Vide the first Volume of these Lectures pp. 179-180, also pp. 361-362.

True, નો is posterior to (Ka)-n (h) a; but it does not follow therefrom that નો arose out of ક-હ-નહ. To say that નહ and નડ are congeners is assuming too much, નહ may have come from કન્હહ (though the Gujarati dative ને has certainly not come), so and નડ from તળડ. There is nothing to preclude such a possibility. In Dr Tessitori's instance भगवन्त नह तेरमड भव the suffix नह is a pure dative suffix the genitive sense is only inferential subsequently 'To the भगवन्त this is the 13th existence' is the construction and then, secondarily 'this is the 13th existence of the भगवन्त.'

The greatest point against Dr. Tessitori's theory is this

નડ, (નો-ની-નું) are adjectival in essence and form, and this adjectival nature can be accounted for best by તળ which is adjectival, meaning, as it does, સ્વસ્થિન્* and assuming the several changes of gender and number, whereas નહ from કન્હહ is non adjectival and incapable of inflection, being adverbial entirely. Consequently કન્હહ-નહ cannot evolve and account for નો-ની-નું, ના-ના with the variety in gender and number

6 This adjectival nature of તળ is further indicated by its derivation, which Dr Tessitori has given for the first time in his "Notes § 73 (4) He rejects the orthodox derivation from the Skr *taddhita*, तन, on the ground that postpositions generally are separate nouns or adjectives and the derivation of a postposition from an affix would be an unprecedented exception. He therefore derives તળ from અપ્પણડ (Skr *āpmanalāh*), by dropping the initial syllable and changing the પ to ત. I am inclined to accept this derivation, with the modification that instead of અપ્પણડ we take અત્તણડ as the source word, because આત્મા becomes અત્તા as well as અપ્પા. And I am not prepared to accept the reason given by Dr Tessitori for rejecting the derivation from Skr તન. It is quite conceivable that the very Skr suffix तन was at some stage evolved from some form of આત્મન્. Nor can the principle be accepted that a postposition cannot be derived from a suffix. I prefer the derivation from અપ્પણડ, rather અત્તણડ, on the independent ground that it answers very well and fits in with our philological and phonetic sense.

(C)-II.

This argument is very ingenious, but unconvincing none the less. The sense-distinction of possession and source (or place) is fine. But I cannot accept this argument as conclusive especially in the face of the great difficulty noted just above, viz. the adjectival nature of नो-नी-हं against the adverbial nature of कन्हइ-नइ.

So much to meet Dr. Tessitori's arguments themselves. A further and very significant refutation of his position is furnished by the fact that the very source-word of नो-नी-हं, viz. तणे, becomes तणे as a dative suffix (just like the modern Gujarātī ने) in Gujarātī literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Vikramas, and thereabouts. Here are the instances:

(a) कन्ह तणइ संपत्ति इसी जिति इन्द्र परि रिदि।

(*Kānhaḍaḍe-Prabandha*, I-9)

(b) देवतणे मदवाइ चुराथी

(*Ibid*, I-87)

(c) करं निरोगी ऋषि तणे ए

(*Bharata-Bāhubali-Rāsa*, II-7, by Rishabhaddāsa, V. S. 1678, *Ānanda-Kāvya-Mahodadhī* Vol. III, p. 8.)

(d) अछर तणे उपदेश ज कीयो

(*Hira-ijaya-Sūri-Rāsa*, III-1, by Rishabhaddāsa V. S. 1685.)

(e) धत्री मलेक सुगळ तणे समजाविया (*Ibid*, XXVIII-21)

(f) हीर तणे इस भाखे सोय (*Ibid*, XXIX-4)

(g) हीर तणे मुकावियो ए (*Ibid*, XXX-24)

(h) ध्रुव तणे हांकलेछे तेद

(*Dhruvākhyāna*, by Tulasi, *Br. Kāvya Dohana* II, 3rd edition p. 53.)

If support by analogy were wanted it is furnished partially by the genitive and dative terminations in Hindi. The genitive termination is का and the dative को. Although I would not go so far as to state, with Sir George Grierson,⁷ that को is formed by

7. LSI. vol. IX, Part II, p. 328, last para in small type. He says "Ko is the locative of Ka, as ka is that of kar and as na is that of na."

adding the locative to का, the position that can be taken up is this का in Hindi cannot be said to have come from the dative को.

[I may note incidentally that the *है* and *तथै* termination came into use when the termination *ह*, descendant of Skr. *स्य* (प्रस्य), became worn out. At one stage this *ह* and *तण* figured side by side, as in कान्ह तणह संपत्ति इसी जिसी इन्द्रह घरि रिद्धि (*Kānhaḍade prabandha* I-9), though *तणह* here is in the dative stage. तास तण गुण वर्णनू कीरति कान्हइदेह (*Ibid.* I. 6) — (कान्हइदेह genitive termination) परवाने सामयी दीठी कटवह तणी अपार (*Ibid.* I-14); (*ह*, genitive, join कटक with तणी, just as स in तासतणा) This we find in the post Apabhramśa period. The gradual stages are marked thus:—

1. (आ)इ for (अस्स) in Māgadhi—कम्माइ (कर्मणः "कम्मस्स") *Si. He.* VIII-iv 209.
2. आहँ for gen. plur. in Māgadhi, *Si. He.* VIII-iv-380.
3. छ-हो-स्स for Skr. *स्य*, in Apabhramśa, *Si. He.* VIII-i-388.
4. ई for gen. plur. in Apabhramśa; *Si. He.* VIII-iv-389.

Thus *स्य-स्स*-(आ)स-स-ह and plur. (आ)ई ई (transferred from the singular *स्स-स*), designated the genitive termination. Although हो is given in the grammars *ह* figures in literature as in अनह (अन्यस्य Skr.) in the line:—इउं सिग्गजं तउ केई पिअ तुहुं पुण अन्नह रेसि (*Illustration to Si. He.* VIII-iv-425.) Also see *Kanhaḍadeprabandha*, I—241 :—सविकह इइयडि हरण न माय.

This *ह* (evolved from *स*) gradually lost the aspiration and the mere अ deserved to die. This left the field clear for *तण* to reign supreme, and this wore out (through अण-अन) into *हँ*. I have² already indicated the insidious manner in which *तण*, attaching

If को can be connected with the dative in old Hindi, I must withdraw my reservation on this point; and my argument from analogy will be complete and not partial.

Beames, Vol. II, p. 253 and p. 257, connects II. को through कौ कहुं, काहुं, with कश्म्. Still this does not furnish a good basis for the genitive-locative theory for को.

8. See *supra* pages 25 and 85.

itself as an analytical adjectival post-position, with स (स्य Skr.) as a link between itself and the main word, suppressed, as it were, the terminal link, स, and eventually usurped the place of the termination. As a retribution for this act of usurpation, this सण had to suffer corrosion and reduce itself to a mere synthetic termination in the shape of हं. This usurpation was helped by the change of स to ह and the loss of the aspiration of ह. Thus: देवसतथुं-देवहतथुं-देवतथुं-देव (अथुं-अहं)-देवहं.)]

GROUP II—The ए group.

We take up this group now, the instrumental-agentive ए and the locative ए terminations.

ए—*Instrumental-agentive.*

This termination is traceable to Skr. एन, Pr. एण, Ap. ए, *post-Ap.* इ-इं.

Thus:—

वृक्षेण (Skr.), वच्छेण (Pr.), वच्छं (Ap.)

Post-Ap. 1. कोलीइं रीठी! रूपइं मोघइ

(*Panchākhyaṇa vārtika*, p. 16)

2. सत्तारि.....पदिराया

(*Ibid.*, p. *ibid.*)

3. जेणइ प्रकारइ राजा छ वरस जीवइ

(*Vaitāla-Pancharisi*, prose, p. 116, l. 1)

The step through which Gujarāṭī ए came is the *post-Ap.* इ termination affixed to the क ending of words; thus:

ए श्लोक वानरइं सांभत्यो

(*Panchākhyaṇa-vārtika*, p. 31.)

Here वानरइं is from वानरकेण (वानरेण would be वानरि); this yields वानरे in Gujarāṭī. The termination then, in Gujarāṭī, is ए (not इ), even where there is no क ending, thus राजाए, घोडाए, हाथीए, राणीए, रमाए etc.. This ए is not a direct descendant of the Pr. ए, however; it is the evolnte of अइ (अक+इ).

Bearing this genesis of the ए termination in mind, I must attach a reservation to my earlier statement as regards the analytic or synthetic nature of this case-termination in Gujarāṭī. I have stated

that in *દાપે વળેલું છુગડું* (*દાપે*, Instr.) the termination *ए* gets fused into the base-word, *દાપ*.⁹ I would add a reservation here that this fusion has its source in the *अक+इ=अइ* step precedent to the *ए* evolution, and what was then intended was the ready-made Gujarātī termination *ए* as treated finally here.

An incidental notice may be taken regarding this instrumental-agentive termination, marking a distinction between the instrumental and the agentive forms; it is this: while the instrumental is formed by the *ए* termination as well as by the postpositions *વડે*, *વતે* and the termination *થી* (which may be regarded as the oblique used instrumentally), the agentive is formed only by the *ए* termination. Thus:—

Instrumental:—*દાપે* *છલ્લું*; *દાપ* ^{વડે}_{વતે} *છલ્લું*; *દાપથી* *છલ્લું*;

Agentive:—*પોદાપ* *લાત મારી*; *પોદે* *મારી* *લાત* *બે* *ઝડાં* *લાત*;
પોઢા *ચઢે* (*પોઢે* *ચઢે*) *મારી* *રે*, *ઈલ* *ઈલીલા* *હોગાઢા*.

[This privilege of the instrumental, viz: the alternative, use of the termination and the post-positions is shared by the dative case in that it utilizes *માટે*, *કાજે*, *સાથે* as suffixes alternatively with the termination *ને*; of course, idiom and the special sense intended deciding which of the alternative formations is to be used.]

[The instrumental in *ए* is sometimes used in the sense of the dative; thus: *પાપા જાત્રાપ ગયાઢે* = father has gone for (on) a pilgrimage; *જાત્રા માટે* being the sense. In fact the *ए* in *માટે*, *કાજે*, *અથે* is instrumental, (નિમિત્તકેન, કાર્યેન, અપેન). This *ए*, or rather the *इ* (applied to the base without the *क* suffix) is turned to *अ* in poetry; *કાજ* for *કાજિ*, *કામ* for *કામિ*; *દેશપતિ* *દીલી* *ઝલગ* *આવે* *Kānhadade-prabandha*, II-69, -*ઝલગિ* (*ઓઢગે-ઓઢગ માટે*).]

ए-Locative termination.

Like the *ए* of the instrumental this locative *ए* owes its origin to the *अक+इ* step. The only difference is that this *इ* is traceable, not to *ए* (Pr.) but to the *इ* (loc.) in Ap. which is alternative with *ए* (loc.), the O. W. R. form having *इ-इ*. Instances:—

1. तीहं नगरइ सदाचारी पवित्र बांभण सोमसर्मा वसइ

(*Panchādhyāna-vṛtika*, p. 24, ll. 7-8.)

(नगरइ to be traced back to नगरके; Gnj. is नगरे).

2. लिपुगि कोइ न पालइ खर

(*Vimala-prabandha*, III-72)

(Here, in युगि, we have the इ without the क suffix before it.)

It is to be noted that while the °क+इ(=अइ) has given the ए termination to the Gujarāṭī locative, the इ without the °क gets turned into अ in Gujarāṭī (locative), but this latter use is confined to poetry; thus:—

रावण तणइ कपालि would be रावणतणे कपाल in Gujarāṭī poetry.

In वनवन भर्मा सोयी वळियो नव मळी ओ मूर्ति अमोल

(*Vidhuranū-Mōyādarāna*, st. 3, in *Nūpura-Zaṇḍara*,
by Narasinbarāo Bholānāth)

वन वन is locative with the इ (of वनि वनि) changed to अ.

[The same remarks apply to the इ and ए of the instrumental agentive case formation; e. g.

- 1 दान दीखुं म्हे ए मुज हारय

- 2 भी कृष्णदेवनी दया यकी त्यां मत्स्य पेय्यो अखुंन

(*Premānand, Subhadrā-haraṇa*, I, 37).

- 3 पांचे पांडव वर्या द्रौपदी कुंतामातवचन

(*Ibid*, I-38)]

Thus the form वनि is not a contraction of वनइ, but in the former इ is affixed to वन, while in the latter it is affixed to वनक. The danger of regarding वनि as a contraction of वनइ lies in the outward analogy between वनइ-वनि and करइ-करि. But there is a clear distinction between the two types, the former deals with a noun with क suffix plus the इ termination, while the latter is the formation resulting from the reduction of ति (pres. tense 3rd person singular termination) to इ by the elision of the त्.

[At p. 85, n. 56, *supra* I have indicated the 'on'-sense of ए as distinguished from the 'inside'-sense of मां. I may add here that ए sometimes has another sense, viz., that of motion to or into a place, e. g. गोपाळ बरोदरे गयो='Gopal went to Baroda'; इ घेर

गयो='I went home (*lit.* to (my) house) मां also has this sense some times as in the sentence, घनमा दासया वनमां गया, ने वनमां लागी लाय, where the first वनमा means 'to or into a forest,' while the second वनमा simply means 'in the forest']

GROUP III-The ablative धी-यकी and the locative मा terminations.

धी-यकी (*Ablative*)

धी is used in prose यकी is confined to poetry. Besides, as we have noted before they are differently derived. It will facilitate a true conception of the question to remember that धी and यकी figure in our language

(a) as indeclinable suffixes, as in हु सुंसाहंथी भाव्यो, ए छापरेथी पढ्यो, पगथी माया सथी प्राळ चथी,

इदर यकी कंइ बाळ जे'हु, जे'हु प्रेत इमशानथी

(*Kusumamālā*, p 91, Narsinhārāo Bholānath)

गिरिदोच यकी केतरी सपळी (*Ibid*, p 84)

and

(b) as an adjectival suffix liable to changes of gender and number, i.e., as a विकारी विशेषण,

e.g., च्यार रत्न तिहा स्यकां (*Sudāmākhyāna* by Gangādās, probably V.S 1716)

उपरि थिका जे हाथी योदा (*Kānhadade prabandha*, I 94)

For the termination धी several derivations are claimed

(a) तत् (Skr) as in सुखत,

(b) तहि, loc sing of तत् in Prāk and Ap,

(c) हतउ, pres part., <हत्तउ <होन्तउ (Ap) <भवन्तक (Skr),

(d) स्था=to stand, स्थितक, on the one hand, for the adjectival form in the old literature (ઓપો ઓધી ઓય) and the चक्रान्त form in Guj of था (Skr स्था)=to be, viz. थइ for the adverbial धी on the other, while यकी is traced to

(e) यक्¹⁰ <यक्क (Pr), <स्यक्यति Skr (?)

Now let us consider the merits of all these claimants

10 स्यक् as a Skr root is perhaps conjectural but यक् existed as a Prakrit root (*Si. Hc.* VIII iv 16) The Bangālī root थाक=to stay,

(a) तस् has several drawbacks :

(1) तः is an indeclinable and consequently 'it cannot be the parent of the adjectival धो-धी-धु, with the inflections of gender and number;

(2) तः leaves unaccounted for the क in थकी;

(3) The स् in स्थकी &c., (found in old works) remains unexplained ;

and (4) there is a psychological difficulty, in that the locative idea preceeding धी as in घोडेधी पडयो and the like is incapable of fitting in with तस्.

(b) तर्हि is suggested by Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.¹¹ But the difficulties in the way of accepting this derivation are these:—

(1) The sense of तर्हि viz., that of localive, cannot very well fit in with the idea of अपादान, which is the essence of the ablative case;

(2) तर्हि is an indeclinable, and it cannot account for the adjectival suffix धो, धी, धु;

(3) Nor can it account for the presence of the स् in स्थकी &c.;

and (4) It will not harmonize with the locative idea in the word preceeding the धी, as in घोडेधी पडयो and the like.

(c) हतउ.—Dr. Tessitori¹² traces the O. W. Rāj. ablative suffixes तउ and थउ from this through the steps noted against it

remain, be, owes its origin to this थक्=to stand, the sense being easily transferrable. Guj. थाक् (थाकवुं)=to be tired is also connected with थक्; one who is tired stops, stands, instead of moving on.

11 His Wilson Philologic Lectures, p. 254.

Dr. Bhandarkar himself derives the M. ablative suffix, ऊन-हुन, from होऊन (=having been), and this should have really given him a clue to the true derivation of the Gujarāt termination, धी as we shall soon see.

12 "Notes", §72, (2), (3). The change of त to थ under the influence of ह in हतउ, though not impossible, involves a needless step; whereas स्थ of स्थितक् supplies the थ ready-made naturally and easily. Besides, स्था being the root common to the धो (adjectival) and धी (indeclinable), we secure brevity of phonetic principles (बीजलाघव).

above. This is good, as far it goes, but it is only the second best derivation, or rather as basis for analogy in hitting the right derivation which is found in

(d) and (e).—*स्था* and *यक्*. I shall give reasons as briefly but fully as possible. To state my conclusions first, I hold, that *यी* (indeclinable) is derived from the conjunctive participle of *युं* (*धातुं*, old Guj. and modern *Kāthiāvāḍī* Guj.), *स्था* Skr.; and *यकी* (indeclinable) similarly from the conjunctive participle of *यक्* (Pr.) substitute of *स्था* (Skr.); and that *यो-यी-युं* adjectival forms are to be traced to *स्थितक* (Skr.) past participial form of *स्था*, and *यको*, *यकी*, *यकुं* (adjectival) are derived from *यक्त्रिभउ* (Ap.) past participle of *यक्*.

Reasons.—The idea of location in the word-ending to which *यी* and *यकी* are affixed (e.g. in *वडोदरेयी आव्यो*) harmonizes well in the thought-linking of the sentence; thus *वडोदरेयी* = having been (*यई*) in (to) Baroda. A Comparison with Marāṭhī is illuminating: *तो गांवाहून आला* here *हून* (the ablative suffix) is a contraction of *होऊन* (= having been); the sense literally is: 'he having been (in) to the village, came'.¹³ There is a slight distinction between Gujarātī and Marāṭhī in this instance; viz. that Gujarātī (*वडोदरेयी*) has the locative indication (*ए* in *वडोदरे*), while Marāṭhī (*गांवाहून*) has none and; but in *अमदावादयी आव्यो* the locative index is suppressed (or rather old Guj. *इ* is turned to *अ*), and we may suppose that Marāṭhī *गांवाहून* has a similar latent locative indication, or that the *आ* in *गांवा* may represent an old locative index.

यो-यको; *यो-यउ* can be traced to *स्थितक*: through *पिभउ* (Ap.); and *यको*, *यकुउ* to *यक्त्रिभउ* (Ap.). Their adjectival nature is not incompatible with their linking up with the idea of location which the sense of 'to stand' requires perforce.

¹³ Dr. Bhāndārkar (*Lectures*; pp. 255-6) gives this same derivation for *हून*, but suggests the sense differently: 'the village having been, he came.' I submit, this is obviously not as fitting as 'he having been to the village'. The absence of a clear locative indication in *गांव* (+*होऊन*) will not justify taking *गांव* in the nominative.

यको is correctly connected with यकिअउ rather than with स्थितक, for the double क् in the former leaves the क alive in यको whereas the simple क् in स्थितक would either be elided or turn to ग

It must be conceded that for a long time this adjectival धी-धी-धु and यकी-यकी यहु retained their adjectival value even when conveying an ablative idea. Then gradually the ablative idea predominated. But as the adjectival form in the shape of gender and number could not be got rid of Gujarati at a later stage of its evolution brought into play the ablative suffixes धी and यकी first through the step of the conjunctive participial form धई, यकई. This view of the ablative suffixes gains support from the M. जन < हुन < होऊन examined a little while ago and also from the old Brāj usage of होय (conjunctive participle) as in आनई पवन पदमसरि होय¹⁴ (the wind comes after having been in (=from) the lotus lake" (*Paramajyotisotra* 7, by Bānārasi Dāsa) also धई similarly used in O. W. Raj e.g. उत्तरापदि नक्षत्रि धई 14 (*Pishabhadeta dharala Sambandha* 51). Consider also the following line in Narasinha Mehta नदनो नद आनद थई अवतयो (Narasinha Mehta's Poems Gujarati Press Edition p. 483, pada 35 line 2). धई here distinctly stands for the modern धी. It was forms like these that eventually crystallized the conjunctive participle (धई-यकई) into the indeclinable ablative termination (धी-यकी), the former (conjunctive participle) being analytical and the latter (धी यकी) being synthetical¹⁵.

14 Cited in Tessitori's 'Notes' 72 (6)

15 Dr. Tessitori holds a different view viz. that धई is a conjunctive participle bearing an ablative significance without being identical with the ablative post position धी ("Notes" 72 (6)). This is simply a distinction without a difference.

For a fuller examination of Dr. Tessitori's views see my article on the "Ablative Termination in Gujarati," Sir Ashutosh Mukerji Silver Jubilee Volumes Vol. III, 3. I may however add that Tessitori's derivation of धी यकी from the locative of the past participles of धाहुँ and थकउ is a needlessly round-about method and at the foundation of this view lies his original error of deriving the conjunctive participial form (यकी) from the locative absolute (यकि) of the past participial यकिउ, an error which I have already disposed of (*See my paper* p. 68 n. 27).

It must, however, be remembered that in અમદાવાદથી આવ્યો and the like (where the base to which થી is applied ends in અ) the locative suffix before the થી is latent, the old form would be અમદાવાદિથી

On the other hand, *naiges* like હાયથી ગયો, પગથી માથા લગી જાણ્યો, મદારા ઘરથી તમારું ઘર એક ગાજુ છેડું છે, ઘરથી દૂર તે દૂર, આ લોંબકાથી પેલા બાવા સૂચી હમારી હૃદ છે, furnish evidence in support of the pure ablative without a locative intervention. I think a correct history of the idiom is this. Originally the adjectival form (ધો-થી-થું) remained pure, then it slid into the ablative idea, and eventually the conjunctive participial form came in, yet it is possible to interpret the ablative sense of થી by referring it to the past participle of રહ્યા, વહોદરથી આવ્યો being explainable as વહોરે સ્થિત (હતો તે) આવ્યો, or ધારીથી જુવે છે meaning ધારી સ્થિત હોઈ જુવે છે, a clear indication being furnished by the contrast between cases where the action consists of motion from one place to another and rest in a place. Compare and contrast *ક્રિ* પ્રાસાદાત્ પ્રેક્ષતે which is interpreted psychologically as પ્રાસાદમારજ પ્રેક્ષતે and આસનાપ્રેક્ષતે interpreted as આસને સ્વવિશ્ય પ્રેક્ષતે (સ્વપ્લોપે કર્મવ્યધિકરણે ચ । *Katyayana's Vārtika* on *Panini*, I iv 31). I suggest a contrast, because in ધારીથી and the like the object of inquiry is the termination થી and its original whereas in પ્રાસાદાત્ પ્રેક્ષતે &c. the inquiry is directed towards the idea which links the base with the termination. Nevertheless the adverbial nature of થી would favour the tracing from the conjunctive participle, in addition to the considerations mentioned already, viz, M. હોઝન, H. પદમસરિ હોય, Narsinha's આનંદ થઈ અવતર્યો. Instances like પગથી માથા લગી—&c, must be referred to a stage of evolution later than the adjectival stage and must not be treated as exceptions.

The adjectival ધો-થી-થું (and ધકો-ધકી-ધકું) may very well be compared to the *Apabhramśa* ablative in હોન્તડ (confined no doubt to the pronouns), with this distinction that ધો &c, are from the past participial forms while હોન્તડ is from the present participle. I have already indicated my view that Hemachandra's treatment of this હોન્તડ appendage (or rather want of its recognition by him)

is based on an obvious error, whereby he regards the really locative *द्वा* as the ablative termination, ignoring the true ablative idea involved in *द्वा*, in instances like *जहा द्वा*, *तहा द्वा*.¹⁶ I have also referred in that place in my article on the Gujarāṭī Ablative Termination I would only give here succinctly my reasons for differing from Hemachandra

- (a) As already stated all his illustrations include *द्वा* invariably, and no instance is given without this *द्वा*,
- (b) Therefore, *द्वा* must be the essential factor for the ablative sense, and the *द्वा* must carry some other significance viz. location,
- (c) Although *जहा*, *तहा* and the like are not given by Hemachandra as locative forms any where I believe *द्वा* must have been a locative suffix, either as a case-termination or as giving the words *जहा*, *तहा* an *avyaya*-like position;
- (d) *Mugdha-vabodha Auktika* has *जिहा-तिहा* in the sense of *यत्र*, *तत्र*,¹⁷ and these forms are fully interperated in that work,¹⁸
- (e) Later literature of the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era also abounds in *जिहा*, *जिहा*, *तिहा* as locative indeclinables,¹⁹
- (f) Dr Tessitori who regards *द्वा* as primarily ablative, losing the ablative sense and passing into the locative sense which misled scholars into believing it to be real locative,²⁰ admits nevertheless the locative significance of *द्वा* in *S. He VIII* 17-355.
- (g) The ablative plur. in Prakrit is formed by the suffixes *द्वा* and *सन्तो* (*S. He VIII*-iii 9) I conjecture that the *द्वा* must be allied to these that *द्वा* (changed from

16 See *supra* p. 85 note 55

17. P. 16, col. 8, last para, 11 2, 3

18 P. 5, col. 2, 11 2, 3, p. 4, col. 2, 1 3, &c, &c

19 *Kāṇha-lāṭe Prabandha* I-105, III 246, III-94, *Harī Līlā*, Bhāṭana's *Kāṇḍāṭī*, p. 128, l. 5, l. 13, p. 129, l. 22, &c &c

20 'Notes 61

हुन्तो) must have come from the pres. part. of भृ and हुन्तो from that of अस् (a possible postulated form).²¹

[In rare cases—in poetry—the ablative suffix धी is dropped:—

(a) शंकर छेडिउ बंध कि

(*Kānhaḍade-prabandha*, I. 246);

(b) मोटा संकट छेडिउ तेह

(*Ibid.*, I. 251)

बंधधी and संकटधी are intended here in (a) and (b) respectively.]

The Locative Termination मां.

I now take the last termination left, मां (locative) in Gujarātī. We find the following state of things:—

Prākṛit proper (Mahārāshṭrī) has ए or स्मि (from Skr. स्मिन् for pronouns) for nouns ending in अ (*Si. He.* VIII-iii-11). I was at one time inclined to favour the probability of मां being derived from the latter, स्मि. But I find a better derivation to be stated soon—

Apabhramśa has ए or इ for nouns ending in अ, to denote the locative case; जळे or जळि (*Si. He.* VIII-iv-384).

Mārkaṇḍeya (*Prākṛita-Sarvasva*, XVII-18 and 23) gives हिं as well as ए for the locative case.

Dr. Tessitori ("Notes", § 74, (6)) gives for O. W. R. र्हां as the ablative termination and traces it backward thus: <महां <माहां Ap. मज्झहं ablative of मज्झ. (हुं taking the place of भ्यस्). He shifts the case here from the ablative to the locative. But, in as much as he traces the ablative-locative हं from Skr. स्मात् (ablative) he could as well have traced Gaj. मां from स्मात्.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar, ('Lectures', p. 261) derives G. मां from मध्य, मज्झ, माझ, माह, loc. मांदि (हिं being dropped).

21. Lassen, cited in Beames, II, p. 234, regards हिन्तो as a composition of हिं (instr. plur. termination) and तस् (Skr.) ablative particle, and हुन्तो made by a mistake of ह (loc. plur. termination) with तस् (Skr.); he further holds that the Hund? हुंत and हुन्तो (ablative) resulted from the fusion of हिन्तो and हुन्तो, and that हुंत (II.) gave हुन (abl. suffix) to Marāṭhī. All this is too ingenious and fanciful and therefore unconvincing.

I have (*supra* p 81, last three lines) traced मा from मध्य, through मज्झ मझ मइ महा I should prefer to modify this and come into line with Sir R G Bhandarkar only with this slight variation viz that माहि (loc of माह) changes its final ह् to अ and we have माह,—yielding मा G eventually This does away with the needless change from the ablative (मज्झद्) to the locative which Dr Tassitori resorts to.

What has happened to the ablative अत् (Skr e g, एहात्) and to the genitive एप् has happened in the case of this isolated locative in मा viz, that the old Skr and Prakrit terminations got worn out or transferred and so a new analytical adjunct (मध्य-मज्झ) stepped in and that, in its turn passed through a corrosive process and finally deposited मा as a synthetic suffix.

NOTE I

I have adopted the orthodox analysis of the dative suffix ने viz the genitive ह् plus the locative ए A better view however would be to regard the ए as instrumental of purpose or motive Sanskrit has this idiom viz instrumental to denote purpose or motive अध्ययनेन वसति (See Panini II iii-23 and the illustrations thereof in the *Siddhānta kaumudī*). In fact my preference of this view is hinted above at p 156 in remarks concluding the treatment of ए instrumental agentive The preference given to the locative source for निमित्तकद् (माह) at p 377 in Vol I of these Lectures should be given up now Closely examined behind this instrumental of purpose there is the idea of some verb like प्रयुक्त Cf अथ केन प्रयुक्तोऽय पाप चरति पूरुष (Bhagavadgītā III-35) where प्रयुक्त is used expressly

NOTE II

At p 154 after l 2 read the following —

A further indication is supplied by the personal dative forms म्हारे र्हारे and the like (e g म्हारे चार रुपिया जोईशे) where the noun would be in ने (e g रामाने चार रुपिया जोईशे) Here the रे is clearly the genitive ह् plus the ए (loc or instr).

We shall now cast a hurried glance at certain individualizing peculiarities in the Gujarātī language, grammatically and idiomatically.

There is a contrast between English and Gujarātī in the syntactical arrangement in a sentence. The order of arrangement in an English sentence is — first the subject, then the verb, and last the object, dependent parts such as adverbs being placed at the end, thus —

‘Gopāl’²² brought the horse here ”

In Gujarātī (as in H and M) the order will be —Subject, object, adverb, verb, thus —

ગોપાલ ઘોડો અહિં લાવ્યો.

A disregard of this distinction in idiom leads to incorrect arrangement in translation from one language into another. We frequently hear Englishmen saying *इपर लाओ ओ घोडा*, or Indians saying “Gopal brought back the horse” instead of “Gopal brought the horse back.”

Sanskrit with its distinct inflections can afford to disarrange the syntactical order required in the vernaculars. We can say

राम सीता वने व्यसर्जयत् or सीता वने व्यसर्जयत् राम
or वने रामो व्यसर्जयत् सीताम् or सीता रामो व्यसर्जयत् वने.

with equal correctness and without any danger of misunderstanding.

22 This applies to prose, in verse there is a wide latitude for altering the order. In Prose, too, emphasis alters the order thus — “You do not know how dearly I love him” (The adverb *how dearly* comes early in the order for the purpose of emphasis)

In Gujarātī also emphasis alters the syntactical order —

1. વાંચ્યુ રહે, રહમારાધી શુ વંચાવાતુ હતું ?

2. યાજો બેલાબેલા, જોડ તો યાચો કે'વા યાઓડો

3 જા પાડો, where જા coming before પાડો marks anger or similar emotion. In (1) and (2) the change in the order marks a kind of sarcasm. Arrangement in the natural order will give quite a different idea, a bald statement

Gujarâti has lost the forms of comparison so well known to Sanskrit, viz. the forms with the terminations *तर* and *तम* or *इयम्* and *इष्ट*. It adopts these Sanskrit forms in *tatsama* words, but that is a mark of "classical", or sometimes pedantic style, and, in the case of *tadbhava* adjectives, the word *वधारे* (=more) is prefixed to show the comparative degree, and for the superlative degree a circumlocutory method is employed by using expressions like *सहुर्मा*, *सहुधी* or reduplicating the adjective as in *म्होयामा म्होयो* (=greatest) where the first word is an adjective used as a noun.

[English has *er* for the comparative degree and *est* for the superlative. Could the *er* be connected with the Skr. *तर*, and the *est* with the Skr. *इष्ट*? This investigation is out of place in our treatment.]

हमे-आवणे Gujarâti has two forms for the plural of the first personal pronoun each signifying a distinct concept

हमे = *We*, when the speaker *excludes* the addressee from the signification meaning "He (or they) and I",
and **आवणे** = *We*, when the speaker *includes* the addressee meaning "You and I."

[*Note* — This is not *exclusively* a Gujarâti peculiarity. Māra-vādī has this feature as pointed out by Dr. Teggiani.²³ According to an authority cited by Sir George Grierson²⁴ this double plural is a peculiarity of the Dravidian (and also of the Mundā) dialects, though I imagine Kanarese, itself a Dravidian language, will have to be excluded, for it has only one plural, *ನಾವು* (=we), to express both the ideas.²⁵ What I wish to note is that

23 His "Notes", p. 4, item 6 under para. 2, (=Ind. Ant. Feb. 1914, p. 24, item and para. the same)

24 *A Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* an extract from which is quoted in Sir George's article on "Languages" in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (New Edition), Vol. I. (A. D. 1907), p. 380

25 While I consulted a Kanarese friend on this point to verify

Gujarātī is one of the few Indian languages which have this double plural. Sanskrit had वयम्, Marāṭhī²⁶ has आमी, Hindi has हम,

my personal knowledge, he drew my attention to Caldwell's work. The following extract therefrom is very suggestive —

"In all the Dravidian dialects, with the exception of Canareso, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, of which one denotes, not only the party of the speaker, but also the party addressed, and may be called the plural inclusive, the other excludes the party addressed, and denotes only the party of the speaker, and may be called the plural exclusive. Thus, if a person said, 'We are mortal,' he would naturally use the 'we' which includes those who are spoken to as well as the speaker and his party, or the plural inclusive whilst he would use the plural exclusive, or that which excludes the party addressed, if he wanted to say, 'we are Hindoos, you are Europeans' "

There is a similar distinction between the two plurals of the first person used in the Marāṭhī and the Gujarātī e.g. *hame* in Gujarātī, means we—the party speaking, whilst *apane* means we—the party speaking, and you also who are addressed. There is no connection between the particular pronominal themes used for this purpose in Northern India and in the languages of the South, but the existence of so remarkable an idiom in the north Indian family, as well as in the southern, seems to demonstrate the existence, in the Northern family of an ancient under current of Dravidian, or at least of non Aryan influences. The idiom in question is a distinctively Scythian one, and is one of those points which seem to connect the Dravidian family with the Scythian group. There is no trace of this two fold plural in Sanskrit, or in any of the languages of the Indo-European family, but it is found every where in Central Asia. Thus Manchu has *mu*,—we-of the one party and *be*, we—the whole company. Mongolian has a similar idiom. This peculiarity is found also in the northern dialect of the Chinese. In that dialect, *tsa men*, we, includes the persons addressed, whilst *wo men*, we does not. It is remarkable that it is found also in the Polynesian languages, in many of the languages of America, and also in those of the Australian tribes "

(Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, 2nd edition, 1875 A D, pp 308-9)

The first edition, A D, 1856, contains these same remarks

26 Marāṭhī Dictionaries (Marāṭhī into English and *vice versa*, Molesworth and Canby), however give आमण=we, and we=आमी, आपण.

Bangālī has अमर, Sindhi has अम, Panjābī has ਅਮਰੀ (Amritsar, Ambālā, Ferozepur) and अस्त²⁷ (Kāngde), to express both kinds of plural.]

[The Melanesian island of Annetom in its language has four kinds of numbers for the pronouns; singular, dual, trial, and plural, and, further, the first personal pronoun distinguishes in addition whether the person addressed is or is not included in the *we-two*, *we-three*, or *we-many* of the speaker. The same distinction is found in some American languages.²⁸

Thus this tendency for fine distinctions in this shape is prevalent in parts of the earth lying far apart, and several of them not connected by ethnic affinity. And yet, so far as Indian languages are concerned, and in contrast with English also, Gujarātī is one of the few exceptions in the matter of this feature of a double plural for the first personal pronoun.]

In Vol. I of the Lectures I have incidentally touched the question of accent in connection with the wide
Accent. sound of अ and आ,²⁹ and again when discussing the so-called 'silent'³⁰ अ, as also the अ ending of nouns.³¹ I shall therefore deal with the subject here by way of supplementing and expanding those remarks. I have said that the exact scope and meaning of the Vedic accent is not clearly known, and that in dealing with the Indian vernaculars we recognise only the stress-accent. . I shall add :—

- (a) that the old Vedic accent, lost in Classical Sanskrit, was still further lost in the Prakrits and our vernaculars;
- (b) that, nevertheless, this accent had an unperceived

The reason seems to be that आत्मा expresses the inclusive as well as the exclusive plural, while अमर is used for the inclusive plural alone but is rare.

27. LSI, vol. IX., Part I, pp. 136-7.

28. *Prolegomena to the Study of Hegel's Philosophy; especially of his Logic*, by William Wallace, M. A., LL.D., pp. 239-240.

29. Pp. 136-145 of Vol. I, also p. 280.

30. P. 207-9, 213 of the same volume.

31. P. 188 n. 47 of the same volume.

influence in Prakrit formations, e g the tacking on of the ५ termination and the shifting of the stress in certain grammatical changes e g

(1) क termination has already been dealt with in Vol. I ³²

(2) चर्पिढी-चर्पिढियो or चर्पिढीओ,

(3) चीतर्पु-चीतरवु,

In (2) the shifting of accent from ५ to डी alters the spelling from डियो to डीओ,

In (3) the accent is on ची in चीतर्पु but on ची and त both equilibrated in चीतरवु (You cannot pronounce or use चित्तु which shows that the त must be accented),

(c) that accent (in Gujarati) is dormant in spoken language but comes up under special conditions, as in the case of instances noted in (b) just above,

and (d) that the element of accent plays an important part in metrical composition

It is necessary to explain (d) at some length. In the first place it should be premised that metrical emphasis which is known as તાલ (tāla) is not identical with accent, though very much akin to it. For તાલ (tāla) is the emphasis on a syllable required by the rhythmic formation of a metrical line whereas accent is the inherent stress on a syllable in each word whether it be dormant or comparatively prominent. As a result of this minute distinction we find that if the metrical tāla falls on an unaccented syllable the composition jars on the ear e g

(1) કો સુન્દર ચર્મીચો છે ચર્મી આ

The tāla on ચો in ચર્મીચો falls on a decidedly unaccented syllable and is most unpleasant to the ear

There are cases where the tāla falling on an unaccented syllable does not jar, for instance the tāla on ૬ in સુન્દર in the above line, or

(2) અરણ તરણ આ સંદય પયો સદુ જાગો છતાં લોક,

આઠસ તર્જી શુભ છત્ત વચ સર્જી દરસે મૈત્રયો શોક,

સર્વ સંદય આપાસે.

- (3) जनसुखकारक भय-उद्धारक वेदय उदय विद्यात,
कार्य सफल शुभ करतो.
- (4) देवागुणे भरपूर मरी तुं घेर गरवी गुजरात,
वसन उपवन मन हरतां.
- (5) उद्भव करतो दुख संहरतो प्रगटयो घर्मसमाज
कलेश कलह लय करतो.
- (6) तिमिर विदोरी कुत्सित पट काढी प्रदीप्त करवा शन्य
ज्योति सजल ज्यम शिवनो.
- (7) सदाचरणप्रतिपालन समये निश्चय धनुं निःशंक,
ए ज वचन गुरु उचरे.
- (8) उज्ज्वल यश पूर्वो अधिक करी धुवो दुरित सद्गु श्याम, ¹¹¹¹
अधम मति तंजी धरमूर्च्छयी. ¹²

(All these instances are from Bhimsrao Bholanath's poem, entitled *Lāraṇyamayī*.) One or two more instances may be added:

- (9) डेर संघर्षुं कंठ रहस्य ऊंडे एद अर्पवा काज
तलवी रघुं मन सुज मन घेळें.
- (10) ते धर्मी भीनां अर्जु चरण सुज, स्वीकारपतुं समुत्तर
स्मरणकुसुमो कंठ मोयां.

(*Nūpura-Zanlāra, Vidhuranū Māyādarśana*,
st. 5, 6; Narsinharao Bholanath)

Note here the *āda* on *र* in तरण (instance (2)), on *क* in सफल (instance (3)), on *णे* in गुणे (instance (4)), on *वी* in गरवी (instance (4)), on *स* in वसन (instance (4)), on *व* in उपवन (instance (4)), on *ल* in कलह (instance (5)), on *रि* in कुत्सित (instance (6)), on *च* in वचन (instance (7)), on *वं* in पूर्वो (instance (8)), on *धि* in अधिक (instance (8)), on *रि* in दुरित (instance (8)), on *घ* in अधम (instance (8)), on *घ* and *ल* (instance (9)), and on *र* of चरण and स्मरण and मो of कुसुमो (instance (10)). In all these the *āda* falls either on an unaccented syllable or on a syllable with a subordinate or coordinate accent, and yet no jar is felt. The reason for all this is subtle and yet clear. Still more prominent cases are of उदय where the *āda* falls on *उ* in the first उदय and on *द* on the second

उद्य in instance (2), and still more in उद्य उद्य coming together in instance (3) with the *īdā* on the उ in the first उद्य and on द in the second उद्य. Closely examined, the द really possesses a minor accent because the word is composed of उद्+अय where the अ of अय is an accented syllable to a certain extent. It would take long to explain all the cases in detail.

It may be contended that all this discourse about accent and *īdā* is a slippery affair, for we find that in poetry very often the accent is shifted from where we find it in prose e. g.

हंतो हुं सतो पाठो पुत्र नोनो

This in prose would be accented हंतो सतो, पाठो. The answer to this is —

(a) there is a confusion between *īdā* and accent, and (b) even if what is meant is that the *īdā* falls on unaccented syllables we have a clear precedent in the old Vedic practice of the shifting of the accent in *samhitā*³³ and *pada* texts. Our instance presents a similar case.

नयी कीयी मैं नाय । भक्ति हमारी

furnishes an instance where the *īdā* on यी, apparently on an unaccented syllable, is not only not jarring, but marks the emphasis of a negative strongly.

At p 66 of Vol. I of these Lectures, last para, I have said that Gujarātī has not got the accentuation present in Hindi and Kāthiavāḍī Gujarātī. This in no way conflicts with what I have said about accent here and in my treatment of the 'silent' अ &c. For, in the former case I speak of accentuation, which is more like emphasis than the principle of accent. Besides the Kāthiavāḍī

33 The significance of the term *samhitā* is clearly shown here, *samhitā* meaning the putting together, naming of the separate words पदप्रति संहिता (*Ri' Prātīdāhya*, II), whether the first word is taken as a *tatpuruṣa* or a *bahuvrīhi* *acauśa*—Uvvaṇa takes it as a *bahuvrīhi*—shows that *samhitā* signifies the relation between the two texts *pada* and *samhitā*. It seems therefore reasonable to discard the interpretation given by some scholars to the term *samhitā* whereby it is regarded as the collection of the several hymns together.

accentuation is coupled with a peculiar intonation, which gives it the nature of a pitch accent, as it were.

Gojarâti has two words to express the idea of negation which are mutually distinguishable, and yet many to whom नथी-नाहिं Gojarâti is an required language fall into the ridiculous error of treating the two as identical or synonymous. Thus I have heard many Marâthâ gentlemen say- त्वमे आवचो के नथी ? where नाहिं must be used. The reason is this.-In Marâthâ नाहिं stands for नाहिं (G.) as also for नथी (G.) and the true derivation in each case is as under;—

1. नाहिं (G.) = *no*; from Skr. नदि, Ap. नाहिं.³⁴
2. नथी (G.) = *is not*; from Skr. नास्ति, Pr. नत्थि.
3. नाहिं (M.) = *No*, a pure negative indeclinable; it comes from Skr. नदि, Ap. नाहिं.³⁴
4. नाहिं (M.) = *is not* (lit. *not is*), is made up of M. न+आहे where आहे in the composition नाहे is altered to नाहिं by false analogy with नाहिं (indeclinable).

Pârâi Gujarâti is unacquainted with नथी, it uses नाहिं in its place: e. g. Pârâi Goj. नाहिं आवतो, Hîndî Goj. नथी आवतो.

[नथी is used in Sindhi in a peculiar manner; it is not an independent verb with a negative, न+अथी (अस्ति), but represents the mixture of the negative न with थी as the present tense third personal termination, attached to some main verb, and with the order transposed; as in अचेथी (*she comes*), नथीअचे (*she does not come*), where the थी is an adjectival form undergoing changes of gender and number (as in अचेथो=*he comes*, अचेथा=*they come*), थो being derivable not from Skr. अस्ति Pr. अत्थि, but from Skr. स्थित, Pr. थिअ, थिउ (Ap.)-थउ.

Hîndî has not got नथी (=नास्ति). It secures its purpose by the analytical नाहिं है.]

[The distinction in sense and usage between Gnj. नथी and नाहिं may be compared, to a certain extent, with Kan. इल्ल and अल्ल, and, to a certain extent with English 'not' and 'no'; Kan. इल्ल is always attached to verbs and means 'does not' while अल्ल is simply a

negative particle, meaning 'no'. Thus નોહુતાને = *He sees*; નોહુવરિલ્લ = *he does not see*. To the question આ દુહુગનિમે નોહિદિ ? = *Did you see that boy?*, the answer in the negative would be અલ્લ; ફલ્લ would be wrong here, but correct in નાહુ નોહિલ્લ = *I did not see*. I do not know the distinctive derivation of અલ્લ and ફલ્લ, but there the usage is as stated.

Similarly in English—"He loves me, he loves me not:—"Do you love him?" answer:—"No. 'Not' would be wrong here, but correct in "I love him not." (I do not love him). To trace this distinction in the derivation of the two words, *no* and *not* will, I am afraid, not help us much, for the idea of અસ્તિ (*is*) cannot be found in *not* which is composed of *ne* (=not)+*o* (=an, any)+*with* (=thing), and *no* is traced to *ne* (=not)+*a'* (=ayo, ever).]

Gujarātī makes a peculiar distinction between ના and નહિ according to the relative position the word

ના-નહિ occupies in a sentence, i. o. relative to the verb, which results in a modification of the sense and mood of the verb.

Thus:—

- (a) . ના આવે } = (he) may not come;
 આવે નહિ }
 (b) નહિ આવે } = (he) will not come.
 આવશે નહિ }

Note that આવે in (a) is in the subjunctive mood, while in (b) it is equivalent to the definite future tense. The position of નહિ before or after આવે determines this.

હવે and હમણાં bear two different meanings in Gujarātī, both of which meanings are expressed by the single word *now* in English.

હવે refers back to an event or action that has preceded the one with which its idea is directly connected, the chain being=*this being so, or this having occurred, now you can do this.*" e. g.

દહાતું વાપુ, હવે તો ઊઠો. (the day has broken, wake up *now*).

હમણાં refers to the actual time of action with which its idea is

concerned, and sheds its light on an action which is to follow. e g

1. मँहें हमणान खाधुं (I dined just now)

2. हमणा हुं बहु काममा हुं, घडीक रहीने आवजो=I am very busy now, come after some time (literally, one *ghotikā*)

This distinction between हवे and हमणा results from their several derivations

हमणा is from Skr. अधुना (अहुना Pr).—which corresponds to *now*³⁵ in English, and which has both the meanings (that of Guj हवे as well as हमणा); but in Gujarāṭī हमणा has lost one meaning (that of हवे) and retains the other only (that of 'at present').

हवे comes from हवइ (Ap) which, I believe, can be explained thus—आहवइ (loc of आहवुं=*like this*), the senso being "it being thus," which clearly connects the action with a past event

Marathī आता=*now* covers both meanings (हवे and हमणा), सय and हवई are used in the single senso of हमणा Hindi अब-अबो also have the twofold meaning, so also Sindhi हाणे (traceable to Skr. अधुना) and Kanareeo ईग.

The negative prefixes न and अण, used in Gujarāṭī compounds न and अण as negative prefixes, show the following features

- (a) While Sanskrit has अ as the पूर्वपद of a compound, Gujarāṭī has न, e. g. नचापो, नगुणो, नकामो, and the like,
- (b) While, in Sanskrit, this अ when followed by a vowel takes the *āgama* न् (as अतुदार, अनर्थ and the like), and remains as अ before consonants (अकाल, अभाव &c.), Gujarāṭī has अण (coming from Skr अन्) even before

35 *Now* (English) traced to *na* (AS, OS, O, MLG, OHG, MHG, GOTH) is connected with *new* which, again, is related to Lat *novus* (Skr नव). This points to the common idea underlying "now" and "new," what comes after "now" being necessarily "new" with reference to what has gone before, and thus primarily, it would seem, the senso of हवे is an earlier one than that of हमणा which must have developed under changed conditions, *then* and *now* would point to the same primary senso of *new*

consonants; e. g. अणममनुं, अणदीदुं, अणचित्तुं, अणघातुं, अणमानीती, अणजाणुं, अणमन्यो, अणदोही, et ca.. This last feature had its full sway in Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa: अणतुच्छ, अणदहअ, अणकुदहअ, अणवश, अणमुख, ³⁶ &ca..

It will be noticed that in these Gujarātī compounds, while न is used in the case of *bahuvrīhi* compounds, अण comes in when the compounds are *tatpuruṣa*. नबळो, traceable to Skr. निबल, may furnish a clue to the guess that this न in Gujarātī *bahuvrīhi* is not from Skr. न but from Skr. निम्-निम्.

Gujarātī (in common with M., H., S.) employs otherwise

Auxiliary verbs used to signify special features added to the action of the main verbs. independent verbs as auxiliary verbs to signify certain special features added to the idea conveyed by the main verb,—a function exercised in English by indeclinables like

"away", "off", and the like. The following examples will illustrate³⁷ my meaning:—

कही देतुं, न्हायी जतुं, बोली जतुं, पकडी पाडतुं, छली नांततुं, छली वाडतुं, मांडी वाडतुं, काटी मूरतुं, मूकी छंडतुं &ca..

[There is in Bombay Gujarātī an expression in *vo. acc.* which apparently falls under this head, but is composed of the wrong auxiliary verb. It is the expression मोकली आपतुं. The correct expression would be मोकली देतुं. The analysis and history of this Bombay usage is interesting. In the first place, Gujarātī proper has आपतुं (Skr. अप्, Pr. अप्) to express the sense of दा Skr. = to give. दा (Guj. आप्) bears the sense which implies a transference of ownership; स्वस्वद्वनिर्मुक्तिपूर्वक परस्वत्वोत्पत्त्यद्वलो व्यापारो दानम् is the definition of the action of दा. Gujarātī proper uses दे (देतुं) under exceptional idiom-conditions, e. g. कन्या देवी ("भंगी अपनी देवी होय, कन्या रहने नर दे कोय"—Dalapstram);³⁸ गाळो देवी, जगद देवी,

36. A glance at the index of Prākṛit words at the end of *Kumārāśīlā-charita*, edited by B. P. Pandit, will show the large number of instances of this kind. I have culled out the above instances from that index.

37. These expressions may be approximately rendered into English as under:—

कही देतुं—to go and tell (a secret);

इहाम देवो, बलियो देवो, धायो देवो, and the like, where देवु has 'a metaphorical sense of giving, not an actual handing over of goods, or of an article.

Now, Kāthiāvādī Gujarātī possesses the root दे (देवु) only, in all cases, i. e. that of transference of ownership as well as metaphorical giving, it does not possess the root आप्, thus, a Kāthiāvādī Gujarātī will say भीखारीने चार पैसा दीया, where a Gujarātī Gujarātī will say भीखारीने चार पैसा आप्या. Now, finding that देवु was a Kāthiāvādī usage for आपवु the Kāthiāvādī migrants to Bombay, such as Bhātās, Memons, Lohānās, and others, turned the auxiliary देवु in मोरली देवु into आपवु with a desire to use a pure Gujarātī expression, and in so doing stumbled, for आपवु here does not serve the minor part of an auxiliary verb. (It would do so in हली आपवु, where आपवु is not actual handing over, in हलीने आपवु it would be 'handing over,' and hence आपवु would not be an auxiliary verb there). This is the analysis and genesis of the usage मोरली आपवु which is found creeping into numerous newspapers, magazines and writings of even reputed authors who are all the same careless in this matter.

[Marāṭhī, like Kāthiāvādī Gujarātī, possesses देणे only, and consequently many a Marāṭha is heard saying गाळो आपी (=M.

गाळी जवु=to run away,

बोली जवु=to repeat, to recite (fluent),

पकडी पाववु=to overtake,

हली नाखवु=to write and finish,

हली वाळवु=to write by way of reply,

माडी वाळवु=to settle (as a dispute),

पाडी मूरवु=to turn out, to drive away,

मूकी छाडवु=to keep safe, well protected,

गाळो देवी=to abuse,

जयाव देवो=to reply,

इहाम देवो=to impress a brand mark,

बलियो देवो=to sew with fine stitches of a particular kind,

धायो देवो=to treat with milk certain kinds of flour, before making sweets out of them

ચીજ્યા દિલ્યા) in Gujarātī for ગાઝો દીવી. This is also heard in the Gujarātī spoken by Bombay Bhātīās and others. The position of દે in this case is not of an auxiliary verb, but a principal verb, wherein idiomatic usage employs દેવું in a metaphorical sense.]

[Kanarese sometime repeats the root to express the effect of the auxiliary verb of this kind, e. g. વિહુ વિહુ=છોડી દે (*leave off*.)—where વિહુ is the conjunctive participle of વિહ (*=to leave*), and વિહુ is the imperative second person singular.]

I have before³⁸ incidentally spoken of double-barrelled words peculiar to Gujarātī. I focus them here under the term વાસણજૂસણાદિ ગણ. They are to be distinguished from the duplicate words like ગાયગાય, પોદોપોદો, where the second member is formed by jingling the first member by tacking on the same word with વ્ substituted for the first consonant; (where the first member begins with a વ્ the duplicate is formed by substituting પ્ for વ્ e. g. વરપી વરપી, વકરી વકરી), Marāṭhī resorts to this trick but instead of વ્ + the vowel of the first syllable in the second member it puts વિ for the first syllable of the first member; e. g. પોદાપોદા, હાતપોત etc.. Hindi resorts to અ for વ્; e. g. પોદાપોદા. These duplicate forms convey the idea of "or the like," પોદોપોદો=a horse or the like; whereas the વાસણજૂસણ class conveys a different idea, the idea of "*et cetera*." ઓસડવેસડ and ઓસડવોસડ will furnish a good illustration of the distinction: ઓસડવેસડ would mean drugs, nursing &c.; while ઓસડવોસડ would indicate drugs or the like; e. g.

(1). વ માંદો છે, તો ઓસડવોસડ કાઢું કરોડો ?

(2). મ્હારો માઈ માંદો છે, હેડું ઓસડવેસડ મ્હારી ઘેન અને ખામી મળીને કરેલે;

The words coming under this વાસણજૂસણાદિ ગણ can be classified under the following heads:—

- (a) Words with the second member meaningless;
- (b) Words with the first member meaningless;

(o) Words in which both the members possess a meaning.

The following come under class (a):—

वाघणकूतण	ओसहवेसड	साफसूफ
दोरढांखर	दाणोदूणो	ताणीतूशीने
वींजीकूंडी	छावंमानुं	चूपचाप
माणसकूणस	वांईचूकुं	नहुंसहुं
कोळीनाळी	व्हरुणापाई	मादेद्वपटे
खाळीपोली	अपिटीसापिटी	दगढांलत्तां
होतांडगरां	ओळखीतुंपाळखीतुं	ठीकठाक
देका दैया	पूळगाड	दांकादूमा
आंदोघूंटी	तिपाईसपरां	वातचीत

The following words come under class (b):—

अळिआळि
आसपास
आजूबाजू
आडोशीपाडोशी
आरपार

It will be observed that in this class the first member is but a rhyming member with the second one, the initial syllable being the vowel अ with its variations in आ, आँ and the like, in response to the first vowel in the second member.

The following words come under class (c):—

राचरचीडं	अडीअपिटी	छातुंछपतुं
माळमता	म्हातुंखतुं	फेरोफांदो
जणसभाव	पूळपरछ	एचचूप
जीवजंत	छंदछंद	नोकरनकर
जनजनावर	गलीगंची	गरीबगुरबां

In some cases, the meaning would require to be stated:

रचीडं=arranged (things), रच् to arrange;

भाव=an object, a thing;

जंत from जंतु;

जन from जंतु;

अहीभापटी-अही रहेली, अटकी राजनारी आपटी (from आपत्ति) = अडचण;

सुतें-from स्तब्ध through सपह (see Vol. I of these Lectures, pp. 82-83, n. 27).

परछ from पृच्छ (Skr.),

सुंदसुंद from शन्य+सूद,

गंजी from गुच्छ, hence entanglement,

छपवें from छूप् (Guj) to remain concealed

फाटी lit. a branch, hence going off the road.

गूप from गुप्त most probably.

नकर = a servant (Pers)

गुरवा (Arabic) plural of गरीब, the final आ gets on anusāra in Gujarātī गुरवो.

I now deal with an important matter in connection with the history of Gujarātī language, its importance being rooted in the phonetic history of Gujarātī words. I allude to the system of spelling employed in Gujarātī works from time to time and the movements started with a view to reform the unsettled system of Gujarātī spelling. The fact that the subject derives its vitality from the principles discussed in the foregoing lectures is my apology for linking this subject here.

It is well known that in older times the spelling of words was not systematized on accurate lines, though it must be admitted that no sound was kept without a symbol, crude or otherwise. Thus, for instance, the aspirate sound in actual speech was represented in some way or other, whether its location was exact or not, e g. *Spelling-system, its history* *महादे, पेदे, तेदे, आदे, मेदे* etc. The quantity (as tested by the metre) in such cases distinctly shows that the intended form was *महादे, हेदे, तेदे मेदे* etc.. In fact in some cases *रहेनी, रहेमां*, are found side by side with *तेदे* (see the passage from Dayaram's commentary on his *Sat Sargā* cited in these Lectures, Vol I, p, 18). This crude but honest method lasted upto the

conclusion of the nineteenth century of the Vikrama era. On the introduction of regular education by the State, during the tenure of the Board of Education the aspirata was correctly represented as in *वेन*, *वेहं* and the like, *अवे*, *तवे* was also the form then adopted. The first Gujarati monthly magazine, the *Buddhi pralāṭa*, in its first number (A. D 1850) wrote *यदम*, *म्होटी*, *आख्यो* and the like, although it also wrote *भणा*, *थाभ* &c. for *भण्या*, *घाय* &c.

In 1859 Mr. Howard as the head of the Educational Department appointed a Committee to settle the system of spelling, but it bore no results³⁹ In the same year T. C. Hope (Educational Inspector) with the help of his Deputies, drew up a set of rules of spelling, which were adopted in the school series. Narmadāsankara Kavi, in his *Narma-vyākaraṇa*, part I, in 1865 A. D., pp 27 ff. fixed certain rules of spelling, rule 8 in which recommends the *ह* as the second member of a conjunct e.g. *म्हातुं*, *म्हने*, *म्हें*, *म्हार*, *म्हारं* etc, at the same time running into absurdities like *अहेतुं*, *अहेतुं*, forgetting that a vowel cannot possibly be a half member in a conjunct Later on he seems to have abandoned this absurd symbol Several of his rules are, no doubt, crude and open to correction When in 1869 A. D he began to revise his Dictionary, published in several parts between 1861 and 1866, and the *Narmaloka* appeared in a complete form in 1873, he laid down in his Introduction a set of revised rules of spelling. These were on improved lines, and yet disclosed faulty observation and conclusions He has recognised the presence of *ह* in words like *म्हातुं* &c. cited above, also the wide sound of *ए* and *ओ*, and several other features The noteworthy fact is that throughout all these attempts, the correct principle of *writing as we speak*, in other words *phonetic spelling*, is recognized as a goal, although its application has not always been successful or correct.

In 1871-72 A. D the Book Committee of the Educational Department framed a set of rules for spelling. Although faulty and imperfect in several respects, these rules recognized the principle that words should be spelt as they are pronounced in the

³⁹ I get this information from *Narma vyākaraṇa*, part I, (A. D 1865), p. 27, note

greater part of Gujarāt. The most ironical fact however, was that these rules were not followed even in the school books published by the Department. A humble village school master named Purshottam Mugataram drew up a statement showing where the seventh book contained inconsistent spelling. Dr (then Mr.) Bühler directed Navsīrām Lakshmirām to set right the errors. Finding the subject a large and difficult one, Navsīrām wrote an elaborate and thoughtful discussion on the whole question ⁴⁰ In spite of all these attempts at systematization the spelling even in the books of the Educational Department did not follow these rules, and a number of incorrect representation of words marred the literature of those years.

This state of things continued for nearly sixteen years since then, when in 1888 A. D. I published a
A fresh note of dissent from outside pamphlet on the system of Gujarātī spelling, contending for the adoption of phonetic spelling on correct lines of philology and the evolution of the Gujarātī language. I need not dilate on the discussion, but would simply note down the points I advocated —

- (a) The recognition of હ in words like બેન, નાહું, હમે, બેરો &c where the existing practice adopted બેન, નાહું, અમે, બેરો &c although the હ was heard in spoken language, and was etymologically correct.
- (b) The recognition of the wide sound of ઈ and ઊ.
- (c) The recognition of the soft (હૃદયપ્રયત્ન) યજાર, as in આહ્ય (=the eye), આવ્ય (imperative)=come.

These views of mine created a certain amount of stir at the time, some opposing the proposals as "innovations" of a revolutionary nature. With a view to authoritative acceptance I addressed a letter in January 1888 to the Director of Public Instruction sending to him a copy of my pamphlet and suggesting a practical consideration of the subject. No immediate results came from this. But a silent working of new forces was created

40 See *Narala Granthāvalī*, III, pp. 6 to 33.

and several writers instinctively began to adopt more or less the spelling I advocated.

Two well-known scholars made a move in this matter a few years later. Rao Bahadur (then Mr.) Kesavalal H. Dhruva framed, in 1893, a set of rules for deciding the spelling of words in a Dictionary undertaken by two Parsi scholars. These rules agreed with some of my minor suggestions, but regarding the aspirate *h* in words like *हेन*, *मोटे* &c., they were silent; they however recognised the wide *अ* and *आ*. Then in 1896 A. D. the late Govardhanarām M. Tripāthi proposed, in the pages of *Samālochaka* (a quarterly journal), a set of rules for fixing the spelling of Gujarātī words. These proposals were criticized by me at the time, as leaving the subject in an unsettled state.

About the same time the Gujarāt Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, at the instance of the Director of Public Instruction (who was desirous to secure a list of words correctly spelt for adoption, if acceptable, in the departmental books) appointed a Committee for making proposals, but this bore no fruit. The Gujarāt Vernacular Society made another minor effort, with equal fruitlessness.

Seven years thereafter, in 1901 A. D., the revision of the Departmental school series was taken in hand, and in that connection I wrote officially to the President of the Revision Committee advocating the proposals for reform made by me already. The Committee made certain "tentative" rules which were obviously defective and unscientific. I wrote again pointing out these defects. The Committee made some minor improvements but left the rules in an unsatisfactory state as regards main points. These rules evoked criticism from one or two persons in certain magazines but nothing came out of it.

There the matter rested. Finally in July 1905 the First Gujarātī Literary Conference met at Ahmedabad, when I presented a long paper on the subject of Spelling Reform, and a Committee

was appointed by the Conference to investigate the question and submit proposals to the next conference. This Committee did very little work for nearly six years but in 1912 A. D. it submitted its Report and Recommendations to the Fourth Gujarâtî Literary Conference. These were conceived in a spirit of compromise, but left a good deal to the option of individual scholars. The Conference passed a resolution noting and recording the report of the Committee on Spelling Reform.⁴¹ Naturally no such resolution would be binding on any individual. But this much is clear that, in spite of the protracted controversy on this vexed question, carried on in various Gujarâtî magazines by persons qualified or unqualified to deal with the subject, there has been a more or less widely prevalent tendency amongst Gujarâtî writers to adopt phonetic spelling based on philological foundations. The subject still continues to divide writers into different camps. It is difficult to peep into the future and predict what final solution will be arrived at by the majority of expert thinkers on this subject. But the outlook is not such as to cause any fears that the principles of a scientific and scholarly study of the question will suffer at the hands of persons not qualified to handle the subject.

I close my fifth lecture here.

Supplement to Lecture V, Section II.

I. P. 158 થો, થકો

The following may be cited as an instance of થો (થો) used adjectivally —

(૧) તમ આગળથો જાઈય સહી

(Premānanda, *Subhadrā harana*, I. 800)

થો here qualifies ટું.

(૨) જતી નદી જે દૂર પેમે જમલે થો જામે નદી

જમલે થો = પાસે રહેલો (સ્થિત) .

(*Bhramara Gītā* by Brahadeva, V. S. 1609.)

41. See Report of the Fourth Gujarâtî Sahitya Parishad, p. 72.

(3) तिहां था जाज्यो एकिं ठामि

(*Kānhadade-prabandha*, IV-78)

(4) जां हिंदूथा विमणा मरु

(*Ibid*, IV-110)

Another adjectival variant is थियं, e. g.

दठ ऊपह्यां रहुद्रि थियां

(*Kānhadade—Prabandha*, III—147.)

I a. P. 158 After उपरि थिका &c. add —

दया घोनी हंका रे ऐमिक थका जाने लजो?

(*Dayārām, Kāvya Sangraha—Gujarati Press Edition*, p. 256)

II. *Supplement to Lecture V, Section I.*

Add at the end —

Page 118, n. 98.

This के—के has its precursor in *Kānhadade-prabandha* (V. S. 1512).—

(१) भेट भेटि कइ मिलवा आने कइ पुरसारथ दाखे

(I—115)

(२) कइ सोनगिर पावहु प्राणि कइ अन्न आयुध नाखु

(II—77)

(३) कइ अन्न आवी करे सिद्धाम कइ प्राणि छटाविठ ठाम

(III—8)

(४) कइ कुंवर वीरमदे वरुं आपतात ! कइ नधि मरुं

(५) कइ मइ मन्मथ दूभण्ड कइं हं निर्गुणनारी

(III—128)

III. Page 144.

(a) The lengthening of the अ into आ in the vocative singular is found in old Gujarati poets, and dates as far back as Narasinha Mehta. Thus :—

(१) जाग रे जादवा कृष्ण गोमाळिया

(*Bhakti-gyāna-nū-pada*, 14. 1. 1)

(२) उठ्य उतावळो, चाल्य नि विट्टळा

(*Ibid*, *pada* 17, 1. 1)

(३) पवन तु पाणी तुं भूमि तुं भूधरा

(*Ibid*, *pada* 40, 1. 3.)

Dayārām has—

(४) भविषी हीन हूं दीन दामोदरा.

(५) भेटो नो भूधरा रंक जाणी मने

(*Nīti Bhakti-nū-pada*; 239).

I believe this feature was a remnant of the Apabhramśa idiom, which stuck to Marāṭhī all along, but was lost in Gujarātī, till it was revived in modern times in poetry (not as an Apabhramśa trait, but distinctly as an imitation of the Marāṭhī idiom), probably about the time when Bhoḷānāth Sārābhāi wrote his *Prārthanā mālā* आ appears to have been an attractive factor in poetic composition

IV. Page 147, after the 3rd line add (in a separate para) —

A peculiar use of the dative form in ने is found in Premānanda, where one is equivalent to one माटे, one अर्धे, e. g.

तेमाटे तेने तेहो वीर भोजनने लावो मंदिर

(*Subhadrā harana*, l. 390.)

भोजनने=भोजनने माटे.

This idiom is repeatedly used in this poem in a number of places, a few more instances may be given

મારે તો તેને તેહવો ભોજનને ઘર માંદ

(l. 451)

તમ પાસે રાત્રો સેવાને ટું રાત્ર રે

(l. 1517)

ભોજન ધ્રાત મિશ્નાને ઠાવિયા

(l. 1571)

અર્જુન મૃગયાને ગવા

(l. 1629)

V. Page 137, under XIII add —

કૂરક પૂર, તલી પાપરી

(*Kānharāde-prabandha*, IV. 49)

કૂરનો પૂર (દગલો) is the sense here.

VI. Page 112, after (m) etc add —

ફંપણ મળી ધર્મા ટકાવ

(*Kānharāde-prabandha*, IV-36)

VII. Page 118, under અહ્ય add —

(h)-1. અહ્ય ણી પરિ કરિજ્યો જાણ

(IV-83)

(h)-2. અમ તજી ગયો રે પૂરત પાવિયાલો વેચ

(*Narasimha Mehta, Rāsa Sahasrapadi*, pada 54, st. 7.)

VIII. Page 118 under હેમ add —

(g) જેહ અપરિ યાહ મનિ હેજ

(*Kānharāde-prabandha*, II-16)

LECTURE VI.

A Historical Sketch of Gujarati Literature.

Having gone over the course of evolution through which the

Gujarati language passed during the last several

When did Gujarati language begin?

centuries, we now turn to the history of

Gujarati literature. It may at once be stated

at the outset that we need not begin with the early Aps-

hramsa period, as I do not hold the unjustifiable theory that

it represented early Gujarati language. The survey we have taken

in the last lecture ought to satisfy us that even the language of

the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era cannot be called Gujarati

without an undue wrench, much less could we give that name to

the earlier specimens unless you are indifferent to the significance

of a name, and would, with Shakespeare's hero in *Romeo and*

Juliet plead—"What's in a name?". I do not suppose you can

call the following piece a specimen of Gujarati:—

જિણિ કારણિ ચતુર્દશ પૂર્વપર ચતુર્દશ પૂર્વસંબંધિય ધ્યાતું પરિત્યજિય પંચ-
પરમેષ્ઠિ મમસ્કાર સ્મરતુ તત્ત્વ વિશેષિ સ્મરેવત્ત અનન્દ પરમેશ્વરિ સીર્ષેકરદેવિ હસત
અર્થ મળિયત્ત અહરિ અનન્દ સંસારતણત્ત પ્રતિપ્રતિભત્ત મકરિસત્ત અનન્દ ક્ષુદ્ધિનમ-
સ્કાર હૃદયોક્તિ સંપાદિયત્ત ।

(*Alopanā*—Prākṛit translation; V. S. 1330;

Mr. Chimanlal D. Dalal's Paper, p. 39).

Or, take a specimen from the close of the fifteenth century
(Vikrama era):—

સદ્ગુરુ કન્દલિ પૂલી વિશેષ અર્થતું પ્રદણ કરિવડં । જે મળ્ય જીવ હૃદ તેહ-
નર્દ એ સંધવણિતું વિચાર કહતાં કમોક્ષ્ય હોઈ તેહતણઈ મળ્ય જીવઈ એ વિચાર
જોઈતું જાણિતું જિમ તે મળ્યજીવનઈ ક્ષુદ્ધિદિ હોઈ ।

(*Sangrahaṇī-Bālaabodha* V. S. 1497;

Mr. C. D. Dalal's Paper, p. 41)

We see here that in spite of *તું* (genitive termination), જે, પૂલી
(=પૂલીને), which are features of later Gujarati, the rest of the
extract possesses the pre-Gujarati characteristics,—હૃદ, તેહનઈ, કન્દલિ,
કરિવડં, &c. &c.. Can you rightly call this a specimen of the Gujarati
language?

Taking from internal characteristics as an evidentiary factor,
let us consider the light thrown by external

External evidence facts in the evidence furnished by history and the accounts of travellers. The language would acquire the name of *Gujarati* surely after the country acquired the name *Gujarat* and not before. I should say long after for the name would take some time in establishing itself and the literature and language to assume the name after the country would naturally take a little more time. The conditions of name acquisition are inherently such. Or even if the acquisition be comparatively sudden its establishment will necessarily take some time to secure currency for the name. If therefore Marco Polo (A. D. 1254-1324) mentions *Gujarat* in his travels all we can infer is that the country had acquired this name in the thirteenth century A. D. and we cannot necessarily conclude that the language was known as *Gujarati*. The evidence as regards a common language prevailing over *Gujarat* and *Rajputana* upto the sixteenth century A. D. is so conclusive and convincing evidence viz. in the shape of old literature in *Gujarat* and *Marwad* (the latter of these being carefully studied by Dr. Tassitori) that we cannot imagine the distinctive name of *Gujarati* being given to that language in those early centuries of Marco Polo's travels. As is well known Narsinha Mehta who flourished from A. D. 1415 to 1481 never calls the language by the name *Gujarati* his name for it is अवष्ट गिरा¹.

The Collection of *Prakrit* and *Sanskrit* Inscriptions published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department gives at p. 123 at the end of a long *Sanskrit* Inscription (No. IX in the collection) a vernacular summary of the same. The Inscription pertains to *Ekalingsji* near *Udeypore* in *Mewar*. It is dated *Samvat* 1545. The vernacular summary possesses linguistic features peculiar to O. W. *Rajasthani* only one word चढव्य (1618) has the appearance of *Gujarati*. But the most significant fact about this vernacular summary is that in its opening *Sanskrit* stanza the

1 अवष्ट गिरा विर काव्य केतु दीप्ति

(*Surata Sangrāma*, pada 72, st. 2)

writer says that he has translated the original into "देशभाषा" (i. e. the vernacular), and he does not give any specific name to this *deśa-bhāṣā*.

Padmanābha in his *Kāṇhaḍade-prabandha* (V. S. 1512) calls his language *Prākṛita*.²

Bhālāpa calls the language of his works by the name अपभ्रंश as also गुजराभाषा.³ This, however, is not the same thing as the distinctive name of Gujarātī.

Thus, nowhere in the early centuries before V. S. 1750 do we find *Gujarātī* as the name for the language of Gujarāt. And no wonder, for, as we have seen in the last lecture, the morphology of the language was still that of the later Apabhraṃśa, of course evolved into further developments, rather than that of modern Gujarātī, and provincial distinction was rendered impossible by the fact that this later Apabhraṃśa was still prevalent throughout Gujarāt, Kāśhīwād, and Rājasthāna.

This being the case, we need not wonder at the fact that the first mention of the language as *Gujarātī* is found in 1731 A. D. by the Berlin Librarian La Croze.⁴ I recognize that this is European mention. But in the absence of any indigenous statement⁵ we need not object to a foreign account especially as outsiders would be more likely to connect the name of a language with that of the province in which it is spoken, than speakers of the language themselves. In these circumstances, it is rather difficult to reconcile ourselves to Sir George Grierson's view that Gujarātī language

2. प्राकृतचंप कवितमति करी.

3. See *supra* pp. 9-10.

4. LSI, IX, part II, p. 333.

5. Premānanda calls the language *Gujarātī* in one place:

हृदे ऊपनी माहारे अभिलाषा
बांधु नागदमण गुजरातीभाषा

(*Dāśama-sāṇḍha*, *Adhyāya* 16, *Kāvā* 54).

The exact date of this work *Dāśama-sāṇḍha* is uncertain, but it was sometime after 1700 A. D. This fits in well with La Croze's mention in 1731 A. D.

and literature flourished over 900 years ago.⁶

The opinions of Sir George Grierson and H. H. Dhruva dissent from

Much more difficult to swallow is H. H. Dhruva's assertion that Sir George Grierson considers the earliest date of Gujarātī to be about 730 A. D.⁷—an opinion for which H.

H. Dhruva refers us to Sir George's paper on "*The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*". p. 1. Sir George's paper herein referred to is printed as Part I of J. A. S. Beng. (A. D. 1888), as H. H. Dhruva himself informs us elsewhere.⁸ I look at this reference, and what do I find? It simply mentions the

6. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, Vol I (1907 A. D.), p. 368, "*Gujarātī Language*", where it says —

"Owing to the survival of a number of ancient grammars, we have a connected history of the language from the time when it first came into existence as a modern Indo-Aryan Vernacular some nine hundred years ago." (The italics are mine).

Again at P. 430 of the same Gazetteer Sir George says —

"Gujarātī has an old literature dating from the fourteenth century which has been little explored. The oldest writers dealt with philology."

Most probably Sir George has in his mind the *Mugdhāvabodha Auktika* (V S 1450) as he seems to allude to it in LSI, IX, part II, p. 327. Obviously he misnames the language as Gujarātī.

7. See H. H. Dhruva's paper on "Rise of the Drama" in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol I, p. 300, footnote, 1.

H. H. Dhruva's footnote runs thus — "Mr Grierson mentions the earliest Hindi works to be those of Pushya Kavi. He says that I consider the earliest date of Gujarātī to be about 730 A. C. (vide the "*Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*," p. 1)."

Now, this note is a puzzle to me, for p. 1 of Grierson's work here mentioned says nothing as to H. H. Dhruva or his views. And what is said is about Pushya Kavi, and his date is given as 713 A. D. — not 730. If the word 'I' in "He says that I consider" is bad English for 'he' (meaning Grierson), even then no such view is expressed by Sir George Grierson at this place. I leave the tangle as it is, and I start on the assumption that H. H. Dhruva meant 'he' by 'I'.

8. *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 298, last para.

statements in *Sib-singh Suraj* that one, Panshya Kavi flourished in 713 A. D.,⁹ that he wrote both in Sanskrit and in the vernacular, and that he is mentioned in Tod's *Rājasthāno*, and—mark this—Sir George comments on this as below:—

“If by vernacular we are to understand a stage of language later than that of the Prākṛits, this seems a most improbable statement, nor can I find that it is borne out by Tod. The only allusion apparently bearing on this point in the *Rājasthāno* is a reference (i. 229, Calcutta edition, i. 24C) to a Panshya the author of an inscription (translated i. 799). I can find no mention in Tod regarding the language in which he wrote.”

Now H. H. Dhruva reads in this a statement by Sir George Grierson that Gujarātī flourished in 713 A. D. passes comprehension. It may be noted incidentally, that Sir George's paper confines itself to the vernacular literature of Upper India (which is apparently the meaning of *Hindustān*) and he could not have dreamt of Gujarātī in this connection at all.

Perhaps H. H. Dhruva builds his theory on his opinion that Gujarātī had a wide prevalence embracing perhaps Mālvā and Rājputānā.¹⁰ But surely this range of the language belonged to the O. W. Rāj in the centuries following the fourteenth century (A. D.), upto the sixteenth century, and certainly not to the language of the early period about 713 A. D. when only the Prākṛits held sway. It is preposterous to say that the language then spoken was Gujarātī. One might as well say, that the language spoken during the Vedic period was Gujarātī.

In another place, H. H. Dhruva regards Gujarātī to be as old as V. S. 802 (= A. D. 746¹¹). This claim for such great

9 730 is evidently a slip on H. H. Dhruva's part.

10 See Appendix to H. H. Dhruva's edition of the *Mugdhava-bodha Aulika*, p. 5, Vol. 2, latter half.

11 See his paper on “*The Neo-Vernaculars of Western India*” read before the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Christiania on 10th September 1889.

antiquity is based on the following inscription found below the image of Gṇapati at Anahilvāda Patana —

संवत् ८०२ वर्षे चैत्रशुदि २ शुक्र अणहिलवाडइ पाटनि वणराज राउनी
उमामहेश्वर स्थापना छइ ¹²

H H Dhruva gives a variation of this inscription, though how there could be a variation we cannot ascertain. It runs thus —
श्रीवणराजराउनी अणहिलवाडइ पाटनि उमामहेश्वर स्थापना छइ त्रि स ८०२ ¹³

I may at once state that this inscription and its similar proto types found at Patana have been exposed as forgeries by expert opinion both on ecriptional and linguistic anachronisms ¹⁴. You have just to imagine the absurd position we should be driven into by accepting in this inscription forms like नी (genitive termination) छइ (for अछइ), which came into vogue some three centuries after Hemachandra—as being extant five centuries before him! And remember that—Apabhraṃśa itself (which was a dead language in Hemachandra's time) developed about the sixth or seventh century as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar tells us ¹⁵.

As regards the name of the province there are references to Gujarat in the local literature of the thirteenth century A. D. But the name is not given as गुजरात but as गुज्जरदेश ¹⁶. We come across the name *Gujarāt* for the first time it seems in *Vastupāla*

12 Taken from *Buddhi-prakāśa*, 1890 A. D. p. 282, from a translation of H. H. Dhruva's paper read at the Congress.

13 H. H. Dhruva's edition of the *Mugdhāvabodha Aṅgīkā* appendix p. 10.

14 *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (Burgess and Cousens), *Archaeological Survey of Western India* Vol. IX, 1903 A. D. *Archaeological Survey of India* (New Imperial Series) Vol. XXXII, pp. 6 and 45.

15 His *Lectures*, p. 302.

16 *Revantagiriśāśa* V. S. 1286=1232 A. D., mentions गुज्जरधर for the king of *Gujjara-deśa* (Kadavū I, st. 7), also गुज्जरदेश for the country (Kadavū IV, st. 1).

(Chimanlal Dalal's Report on Mss. at Pātana, pp. 22, 23)

Tejapāla Rāsa,¹⁷ the date of which is unknown I have discussed this question in my last lecture,¹⁸ and I need not go into repetitions here. Nor need I repeat what I have said in my Second Lecture¹⁹ as to the absence of any authority for the statement in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 5, n., that Gujarat got its name under the Chālvādas. I may, however, remind you of what I said there,²⁰ viz. that upto the tenth century A. D. the empire of the Gurjaras was known to Arab writers as that of Juzr, and the king was mentioned by them as the king of *Jurr*, not of *Juzrat*. But only half a century later, we find, as stated in Mr Devadatta Bhāndārkar's paper on 'the Gurjars', that Al Biruni (A. D. 970-1030)²¹ speaks of "Gujarāt". If this is correct, the name is as early as the last quarter of the tenth or the first quarter of the eleventh century, A. D. But this Gujarāt included a portion of Rājputnā, for the capital of Gujarat mentioned by Al Biruni was Bazān or Nārāyen, near Jaipur, and it did not include our present day Gujarāt, which was *Lārdesa* i. e. *Lāḍia* in those times. This much however, is certain, that the name Gujarat did not come into *free* use till after the Mahomedan conquest, and the first reliable mention of that specific name for our province in our literature is to be found in the *Kāṇhadade-prabandha* (V S 1512).²² The conclusion,

17 Chimanlal Dalal's Report, p. 32 where at 2 of the opening lines is as under —

वस्तुपाल तेजिग मण्ड भम्दे बोलित रासो ।

भरतपेय घुरि गुजरात अनहिलपुर वासो ॥

In his Introduction to *Vimala prabandha*, at p. 12 Mr Manilal Bakor-bhāi Vyāsa states that the word गुजरात is mentioned in several places in the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* (V S 1361). I am afraid he is wrong. The name गुजर्देस is found there, and also गुजर्परित्री, but गुजरात is not traceable. Hence my statement that *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Rāsa* gives the earliest mention of the name गुजरात need not be altered.

18 See *supra*, pp. 20-22

19. These Lectures, Vol. I, p. 33

20 *Ibid*, pp. 34-35

21. 1039 according to Elliot, I, 40

22. गुजरातिय भोजन कर्म (I-14),

गुजराति ते कहीद किसी (I, 21),

therefore which I have arrived at above that the name *Gujarātī* for the language of Gujarat gained currency very late : about the middle of the eighteenth century A D must remain unshaken. Akho the Vendantī poet who flourished in the seventeenth century A D calls the language of his works Prakrit not Gujarātī. In fact the tradition which distinguished the language of Gujarat by the name Prakrit (in contrast to Sanskrit) survived amongst the Sastri class as late as forty years ago as I remember personally even though Gujarātī was the generally recognized name. This marks the force of habit which points to the fact that the new name Gujarātī for the language was an acquisition not more than about a century old then.

The reason which weighs with special force with me is the phonetic formation of the word गुजरात derived generally from गुर्जरना. It involves the simplification of a conjunct in double strength गुजरात्ता requiring the simplification of the double ज as well as that of the double त (and consequent lengthening of the अ in र to आ, the उ in the first syllable remaining unlengthened on account of the accented long vowel in रा). It is evident that assuming that गुर्जरना was the original name the word गुजरात could not have been formed before the years which saw the simplified conjunct in great force. And we have seen in the last lecture that this simplification did not commence before the fifteenth century A D. But as a matter of fact we find Al Biruni using the word *Guzarāt* in this specific form in his time (tenth century A D).

Let us examine the facts carefully in this connection.

- Records mentioning गुर्जरना &c*
- (a) The name गुर्जरना is not found in any works or records belonging to a period when Sanskrit was a living language

गुजरातिमहिं तावति कीधी (I 70)

लादेस नि सिंधु सबाख गुजर सोठ लीय (II 63) has the name

'Gujar' and the mention of Lādādesa marks the fact that South Gujarāt was known as Lāda even in V S 1515

- (b) An undated inscription of about the eighth century (A D) at Kalanjara mentions गुर्जरनामद्वय,²³
- (c) The Danatpura plate of Bhojadeva of Mahodaya²⁴ dated Vikrama Samvat 900 (=844 A D)²⁵ mentions गुर्जरनामद्वय,

23. Ep Ind V, 210 211, and n 3

24 Dr Keilhorn when edited the Danatpura plate (Ep Ind V) interprets the date of the grant as 100 Haraha Samvat (=706 A D). Devadatta R Bhândárkar in his paper on the Gurjara (J B B R A S Vol XXI, pp 413 ff) at p 10 of the off print states that the date is 900 V S and not 100 as read by Dr Fleet and Dr Keilhorn and refers to an earlier paper of his own. Dr Fleet, whether in the light of D R Bhândárkar's paper or independently seems to have revised his first view and assigned the date 844 A D to this grant (J R A S A D 1906 pp 458-460). Dr Hoernle has traced the cause of the error of Dr Keilhorn and Dr Fleet in his paper entitled 'Some Problems of Ancient Indian History, No II the Gurjara Empire' (J R A S 1904 A D, pp 641-642), and accepted D R Bhândárkar's reading of the date, viz 900 V S. The correct date, now accepted, is therefore 900 V.S (=844 A D) (See Dr V S Sukthankar's paper 'Palaeographic Notes' p 312 of the 'Bhândárkar Commemoration Volume'). It appears that Dr Keilhorn himself at a subsequent date quietly accepted D R Bhândárkar's reading of the date. I need not go into detailed reasons for rejecting Dr Keilhorn's reading (100 Haraha) as they would be out of place here. However, it will be interesting to note one important reason. Keilhorn reads the date thus — Samvatáro, then a symbol for 100 and, correcting the ligature *sro* into *saral* (सर), deduces the date as 100 and conjectures it to belong to the Haraha era. Dr Hoernle in his paper of 1904 A D, noted just above shows that the error arose from regarding *sro* or *sra* as a letter symbol. It is simply a figure representing 100 as a multiplicative factor, and the subsequent symbol which Dr Keilhorn regarded as that for 100 is nothing but a symbol for the figure 9, thus yielding the date 900.

D R Bhândárkar had, two years before Dr Hoernle foreshadowed this discovery (see J B B R A S 1902, "Epigraphic Notes and Questions, III p 411). He then read the symbol which Dr Keilhorn read as 100, correctly as 9, but he did not then definitely show how the multiplicative factor of 100 came and yielded 900. It was in 1916 A D (Ind Ant J July Epigraphic Notes and Questions, XXII, "Partabgarh Inscriptions p 123) that he (D R Bhândárkar) split up the ligature *sro* into *s*

- (d) The Ghatyal inscription of Kakkuka composed in Prakrit, dated²⁵ 918 (apparently of the Vikrama era') = A D 862, mentions गुजरात,
- (e) Al Beruni²⁶ speaks of "Gu-rat", A D 1030,
- (f) Śrīdhara's *Delapattana Prasasti* mentions the word गुजरात (the Prasasti is dated V S 1273 = A D 1216)²⁷,
- (g) Marco Polo speaks of "Gujrat" (A D 1254-1324),

(of Samvat) and १०० which was the same as १००, and accepted Dr Hoernle's interpretation thereof as a symbol for 100

Finally, Cunningham (*Indian Eras* p 64) refers to the Prithudaka (or Pehva) Inscription of Bhojadeva of Kanauj, and gives its date as 882 A D and in a footnote mentions other inscriptions of the same king dated 876 A D (Gwalior) and 862 A D (Devgarh), and points out that the *Raja Taranga* places Bhojadeva between 883 and 901 A D. The date 706 A D over a century and a half before those assigned by Dr. Keilhorn to the Daulatpura plate, cannot thus fit in with all this collective evidence

25 There is some discrepancy in the days of the week and month and in the *nakshatra* as given in verses 19 of the inscription which is fully discussed by Munshi Dehprasad of Jodhpur, or rather by Dr Keilhorn who prepared the paper from materials supplied by Munshi Dehprasad. The conclusion arrived at is that in spite of this discrepancy, there appears no reason to think why the year of the date too should be looked upon with suspicion

26 *Al Beruni's India* edited in the original Arabic by Dr Edward Sachau, p 49, (chapter 18), 14. The word is written thus — کُرَات i o *gāf* (*kāf* with two *nikkals* = 'gāf'), [*piśh*], *re*, *re*, *alif*, and *te* (=Gujrāt)

Elliot's *History of India* Vol I, p 59, footnote, gives کُرَات (= *kūrdāt* or *Gārdāt*) as read in one Ms of the original text, and in another thus کُرَات (*Gu kurdāt*). But Elliot takes the name from Rashid ud din who has taken the geographical portion of Al Biruni. But I looked up Dr Sachau's edition of Al Beruni's original text and found, as noted above, *Gujrāt*

27 *Ep Ind.* Vol II, p 445, l 13

(h) *Samara-Risa* (or *Sanglayati Samarasinha Pāsa*) has the name गुजरात (V S 1171) ²⁸

[I do not cite other intermediate mentions of the name e g the mention by Rājasekharaśāstri (who wrote his *Prabandha Kośa* in A D 1348) of the name *Gujarāt* नैपथीयस्य प्रथम पुस्तक हरिहरो गुजरातेति रूपातदेश वीर्यपञ्चनाशि राजनि वसुमती नास्त्यानयत् ।" (*Vi le* preface written by Pandit Sivadatta of the Oriental College Lahore, to *Naishadhiga Charita* p 5 col 1 and for the date of *Prabandha-kosha* p 3 col 1 last line edited by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press) The reliability of Rājasekhara is discredited by some scholars But that does not shake the patent fact that he mentions the name *Gujarāt*]

A brief remark about गुजरात in (f) is called for Dr Fleet regards the आ in the रा of this word as questionable ²⁹ Dr Buhler who edited this *Prasasti* seems to take गुजरात as the name of the country But I think it is गुजरता (=the people of Gujrat) a *taddhita* formation from गुजरा, perhaps गोजरात would be the correct form any way it is the plural of गुजरात (=resident of गुजरात) This will account for the आ in the रा This interpretation fits in well with the context also गुजरता निजनिपुणगुणै &c

Dr Fleet has a fanciful explanation of the आ in गुजरात He thinks it is connected in some way with the adverbial suffix of position त्र (Vedic त्रा), which we have in अत्र तत्र &c and notably in कुरुत्रालत्र (amongst the Kurns and Panchālas *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3 2 3 15) But obviously this locative suffix (त्र or त्रा) by its very sense militates against the suffix त्रा furnishing the name of a province If त्रा was equivalent to the locative, गुजरात would mean among the Gujjaras which is quite different from गुजरात as the name of a country The land where the Gujjaras found shelter rescue (त्रा-त्र=to save) is a better explanation though slightly far fetched

28 *Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya Saṅgraha* (Gao's 1st Oriental Series No XIII) p 37, दादरी भाषा at 4

29 J R A S 1906 V D pp 453 460

The termination ऋ is given in Panini V iv 56. This *sūtra* is not shown as in the *Varāḥi prākryā* by Bhattoji Dikshita, and no wonder for there is no indication in the *sūtra* itself or in any preceding *sūtras* yielding अवृत्ति of a word like छन्दसि. This would lead us to infer that at any rate in Panini's time ऋ was in use in लौकिक Sanskrit as well though any works of that period containing ऋ are not available now. Macdonell's Vedic Grammar (VIII-631) shows ऋ as a Vedic termination. Thus we can take it that even if in Panini's time ऋ was not confined to Vedic usage, it virtually became a Vedic termination since. Or, it may be that Panini's *sūtras* dealing with Vedic usage are not exhaustive.³⁰ Now, it is highly improbable that the name गुजरेरा which obviously came into use after the advent of the Gujjaras and therefore many centuries after the Vedic period would be formed by the help of a Vedic termination.

These are the facts the data from which we have to deduce a consistent theory as to the origin of the name Gujarat. As already premised above this name either as गुजरेरा or any other Sanskrit form is not to be found in literature or record belonging to a period when Sanskrit was a living language. Even in 642 A.D. this Sanskrit name or any other was not known. For Hsien Tsang calls the country *Kuchelo* (Gujjar).³¹ And in the chain of record noted above (b) to (h), the earliest mention of गुजरेरा is in the eighth century A.D. (b), and it is repeated in the ninth century (c), the Prākṛit form गुजरात occurs in the ninth century (d), while the modern form गुजरात appears first in the early part of the eleventh century, (e).

30 We find देवरा in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I iv-11 (यद्य वा इदमग्र आसीदेवमेव . . . यान्येतानि देवव्या यथाणि इन्द्रो वरुण &c.)

The *Upaniṣads* are no doubt regarded as portions of *Śruti*. Yet, their language although possessing characteristics of Vedic language, approaches लौकिक Sanskrit a good deal. May it be that this was a reason which made Panini not to include the *sūtra* about ऋ in his *Vaḍika* set?

31 Walters on *Yuan Chwang*, 2, 249, Vide Dr Fleet's article, J.R.A.S. 1906 A.D., pp 453-460

Now, it is obvious that the rather artificial Sanskrit name, गुर्जर, could hardly have existed outside the fictitious creations of Sanskritizers. The Prakrit name गुज्जरता, too appears to me to be a Prakritized form of the popularly accepted name गुजरात. I would add that गुर्जर even is a Sanskritized form of Gujjar or Gujar.³² My theory, then, is that the Gujjars brought with them the name Gujarat and having come into vogue as such it naturally found its Prakritized and Sanskritized forms गुज्जरता and गुर्जर at the hands of pandits and men of that class who are always fond of adopting such alterations. It is quite unlikely that the Gujjars, a foreign class themselves, could have coined the Sanskrit name, गुर्जर.

The question still remains: What is the genesis and significance of आत (at) in Gujarat?

I advance the following possible answers

The significance of
आत in गुजरात

conjecturally more or less

(I) In Gujarati we have ટકોર (= chiefdom) and from it the word ટકરાત is formed meaning 'the office or the dominion of a chieftain'. The આત suffix here has the sense of an abstract termination which may be compared to the English suffix *dom* in *kingdom* *wisdom*, and the like where *dom* has the function of an abstract suffix. It may conjecturally be stated that the આત in Gujarati is similar to that in ટકરાત. The sense would be—*the domain of the Gujjars*.'

(II) Arabic has the suffix *at* to form the plural number e.g. *insān* (a man) plur *insānat* (men) *zahr* (a known thing) plur *dhurat* (known things). This suffix is applied generally to nouns in the feminine gender. However this restriction may possibly be

32 Mr D R Dhondarkar holds this same view in his paper on 'Foreign Elements in Hindu Population' Ind. Ant XL, 1911 & D January p 21. I go a step further and suggest that the at portion was also Sanskritized into अत.

relaxed Thus *Gujarāt* may be the plural of *Gujar*. The plural sense would then be transferred into the sense of country occupied by the Gujars. This may gain color from the fact that in ancient India the names of countries were framed from the plural of the words expressing the people residing therein, e.g. वीशला, वृष विदर्भा &c. Thus on this analogy *Gujarat* (plural of *Gujar*) may denote the country occupied by the Gujars. True the Indian custom of naming countries after the names of the tribes living there would not easily be transferred to foreign tribes like the Gujars who came from outside India. Yet it is conceivable that the Indian idiom may have been grafted on the foreign names either by the residents of India by force of habit or by the Gujars themselves by way of imitation.³³

(III) There is in Arabic a suffix *t* or *at* which amounts to a termination forming something like an abstract noun e.g. वकील, वकालत, वशीर, वहारत काफी (=enough), सिपायत, this termination applied to the word *Gujar* and the *a* (अ) in the suffix being lengthened by false analogy the word *Gujarat* may have resulted. Possibly this [*at*] *t* may be traced to [a]-tta (Pr) [a] त्व (Skr)

33 I find Dr Buhler has offered a similar conjecture as regards the suffix, (without advancing the theory about the naming of countries in India) Vide Epigr Ind Vol II pp 445 and 438 (*Prāsa* XXXV in the volume) He says (p 438) —

'*Gujarāt* itself is probably a hybrid formation the Arabic collective affix *āt* being added to the name of the *Gujars* or *Gujar alar*

It may be noted that Arabic has no suffix *āt* in the collective sense but only as a plural forming suffix. However plurality and collectivity are very near each other. I would also point out that taking *Gujara* as a Sanskritized form of the foreign name *Gyar*, the word *Gujarāt* need not be regarded as a hybrid the Arabic *āt* may very well have been brought by the Gujars from Arabia.

At any rate *Gujardī* can thus be Prakritized into *Gujjaratī* (the feminine ending being a further modification made to indicate the term भूमि or the like)

It may be asked the change of अत्ता (गुजरात्ता) to आत (Gujarāt) presupposes the process of the simplified conjunct and lengthened preceding vowel, and similarly in the theory that *Gujardī* was Prakritized into *Gujjaratī* this process is equally recognized, though as a reverse process. Now this process is a characteristic of the post-Apabhramśa language, whereas the name, *Gujjaratī*, is as old as 862 A. D. (the date of the Ghatyāl inscription, which has गुजरात्ता), i. e. over five centuries before the simplification process started or got into full swing. The answer is easy. As I have pointed out in Vol. I of these Lectures (pp 391-392), the principle underlying this process is, in an embryonic form as old as the early Prakrite nay, as old as Pāṇini. It was thus quite natural to adopt this process in Prakritizing *Gujardī* into *Gujja rettā* ¹³⁴. We are therefore on fairly solid ground in holding that *Gujardī* was the name brought by the Gurjaras, and that it got Prakritized into *Gujjaratī* and Sanskritized into *Gurjaratī* by a backward process at the hands of pandits and men of that class in inscriptions and such writings.

34 The principle of the simplified conjunct and lengthened preceding vowel is seen also in the period 40 to 46 Śaka Era = 118 to 124 A. D., the dates of the inscriptions of Ushavadāta (son in law of Nahapāna), for उपवदात is Prakrit of कृपमदत्त, or कृपमदत्त is Sanskrit of उपवदात (For the Sanskrit equivalents and the dates see J. R. A. S. 1890 A. D. "The Western Kshatrapas" by Bhagvānśū Indrajit, edited by Prof. Rapson, p. 462. Also see Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 20, last para.) *Ushavadāta* must have been a Scythian name which was probably Sanskritized into *Rishabhādatta* (hko *Gurjaratī* from *Gujardī*). A Nashik inscription distinctly calls Ushavadāta a Śaka (Ep. Ind., VIII, pp 85-86). D. R. Bhandarkar regards him as a Śaka (Scythian), (see his paper on *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, p. 14 Ind. Ant. January, 1911 A. D.) Rapson regards Ushavadāta's name a Hinduized name (Catalogue of Coins, Andhras, W. Kshatrapas etc., p. civ, n. 1). The name *Usharaddāta* is found at least in one inscription written in Sanskrit (Plate VII in Gaurishankar's *Palaeography of India*), and in D. R. Bhandarkar's "Foreign Elements", p. 14 Ind. Ant. XL, January 1911 A. D.

It may be asked,—how was it that, while Al Māsudi and Abn Zaid in 943 A. D. and 916 A. D. knew only Jnznr or Guznr and not *Gujarāt*, only half a century later Al Birunī gets hold of the name, *Gujarāt*, or something very similar to it? The question is not easy to answer. The facts remain as stated, and we are concerned with them.

I leave the question for solution by better informed students.³⁶ For the purpose of our inquiry, this much is clear, that the word, *Gujarāt*, did not obtain admittance in literature much before 1500 V. S. (*Kanhadade Prabandha* being written in V. S. 1512, which mentions the name for the first time in that literature), or if we accept *Vastupāla Tejapāla Rasa* as an earlier work, *Gujarāt* may have found place in literature in the fourteenth century of Vikrama Era. And I may repeat that *Gujarātī* as a name of the language is merely of very recent origin: not much before V. S. 1700. And this is what we are specially concerned with here.

Although Gujarātī, as we know it, began about 1750 V. S., a historical survey of Gujarātī literature would be incomplete and uncritical without an examination of the literature of the three centuries that preceded V. S. 1750. This literature, though written in a language different from our modern Gujarātī, cannot be ignored, because historical continuity will demand its recognition. Again, the literature of later Gujarātī has drawn much of its inspiration and adopted many models from the earlier literature. The sources of some of Premānanda's poems are now traced back to Bhālana and other poets older than Premānanda, for instance, and these are not mere sources, but models which he actually copied. The relation between the earlier and later language is such that it would not be proper to call the later works translations of the earlier ones, the earlier language was not foreign either

35 I must emphasize the fact that Al Birunī's Gujarāt lay S. E. of Kansuj and had its capital somewhere near Jaipur, it was not the Gurjarsadeśa over which the Chālukya kings ruled during Al Birunī's time and the capital of which was Anahilavāda, which Al Birunī speaks of as Anhalwārā (or rather Nahalwārā) and places 60 *parangs* (=480 miles) S. W. of Narāna, the capital of Gujarāt, mentioned by him. The natural inference would be that the present day Gujarāt did not bear that name in Al Birunī's time.

geographically or structurally. It was an earlier stage in the long stream of evolution. For these reasons, we shall begin our historical survey of the literature of Gujarāt with Narsinh Mehta and Mīrābāi, who may be regarded as beginning the literature of Gujarāt, though they did not begin the Gujarāt language. Literature prior to these two poets must necessarily be excluded from this survey of ours on linguistic grounds. If you call to mind the³⁶ specimens of the language of this period, the period before V. S. 1450 you will see that by no stretch of meaning can we call it Gujarātī or early Gujarātī. As a matter of fact, the language in which Narsinh Mehta, Mīrā, Bhima and Padmanābha wrote in the fifteenth century (Vikrama era), was later Apabhramśa well recognized by Gujarātī scholars of authority. The language in which the poems of Narsinh Mehta, and Mīrabai have come down to us in their present form was certainly not the language in which they were written (or rather composed) by their authors. They have passed through a number of alterations from generation to generation. The chief reasons for this state of things are—

- (1) The scribes, professional as well as lay ones, being themselves speakers of Gujarātī as their mother-tongue, from time to time altered the language to bring it into conformity with the language of their own time as much as possible,
- (2) The poems of these two poets, singing the praises of *Bhakti* (devotion to Krishna) became so very popular amongst the masses that they passed by tradition more from mouth to ear than from manuscript to manuscript in the first instance. As a result the language of the poems took an impress from the speakers of the language according to their will, education and culture. Even the oldest available MSS. of Narsinh Mehta's poems are in a language far removed from his period.³⁷

36 For instance, see the specimens given at pp. 8-15 *supra*

37 In the introductory essay on "Gujarātī Poetry" in the First volume of *Bṛhat Kāvya Daśana*, Ichhārām Sūryarām Desai writes —

As regards Bhālāṇa who flourished between 1490 and 1570, V. S.,³⁸ his works have met with two kinds of fate. While his *Kādambarī* (a poem based on the Sanskrit story by Bāṇa, in fact a translation of it), on account of the subject-matter being above the capacity of the masses and appreciable only by scholars, has come down in the language of his own times. (in fact the Ms. came to light only half a century ago), though certain alterations in the forms, e. g. the करि type instead of the करह type, indicate the scribe's adjustment to his own times, (the copy being made in V. S. 1672), the several stray poems, as also *Ālhyānas* or popular stories, written by the same poet appear at present in a modern garb linguistically. These latter underwent the same metamorphosis as Narasimha's and Mīrā's poems that were on the lips of the people more than in the pages of manuscripts. Mr. Maṇilāl Bakorhāl Vyāsa has shown by quoting comparative extracts from *Hari-Līlā*, of Bhīma Kavi, as printed in the *Gujarāt-śāla Patra* on the one hand and in the *Bṛihat Kāṭya Dohann* on the other, and from two different copies (Mss.) of *Panchopakhyaṇa* by a Jain poet, Guṇa Meru (V. S. 1600 or thereabouts), how the language gets materially altered in its transit from copy to copy.³⁹

These prefatory observations will suffice.

“મહેતાના વાઙ્મની જૂની ભાષા મઝવી દુર્લભ છે. મ્હારા મિત્ર રા. હરિલાલ હર્ષદરાય મુયે જૂની ભાષાનો એક વળો જૂનો લગભગ ૩૦૦ વરસ પર લઘાયલો એક ગ્રન્થ મ્હારા હાથમાં મૂક્યો હતો, તેમાં આ ગ્રન્થમાં આવેલાં વેદાં જ ૧૩ પદો હતાં—જે વંદે પણ ફેરફાર કર્યા વગર જેવી ને તેવી ભાષામાં લાઘલ કીધાં છે. એ પરથી નિશ્ચયપૂર્વક એમ વહી નહિ સજાયે કે નરસિંહ મહેતાના વાઙ્મની ઘણે-ઘણી ભાષા તે એ જ છે.”

(Page 14 of the Essay).

This was written in A. D. 1886 (= V. S. 1942). The Ms., which was about 300 years old then, must therefore belong to V. S. 1642 or thereabouts. The language of the 13 songs in question presents features which may have existed in the seventeenth century of the Vikrama era.

38. See Rāmalāl Chhucilal Modi's book on *Bhālāṇa* p. 155, last para.

39. See his Introduction to *Vaṇalā-prabandha*, pp. 45 to 48.

Before entering upon the literary survey proposed by me, I wish to indicate, once for all, the principles which will guide me in examining the literature in its chronological aspect as also in regard to the nature of the language. These principles are as under:—

- (1) The interval between the date of the composition of a work and the date of the manuscript copy should be an effective factor.

The reason for this is obvious. It arises from the fact that the copyists' mother-tongue may be near or removed from the language in which the work they are copying was composed, and this would affect the chances of the copyists modifying the language of the work into that of their own times. The shorter the interval between the two dates, the lower the chances of alteration of language.

- (2) If the interval between the two dates is long the question whether the language is the manuscript should be regarded as the language of the period of composition or that of the copy must depend partly on intrinsic evidence and partly on collateral external evidence.

In cases of this nature, some students of old literature are inclined to be on the safe side and take the later date i. e. the date of copying as the period represented by the language of the manuscript. I think there should be no hard and fast rule. There may be distinct mention in the work itself of the date of its composition, which will be conclusive evidence outweighing all other factors. Or it may be that other works of undoubted dates may possess language which may be similar in type to the language of the manuscript you are considering, in which case the date of copying need not be taken as representing the period of the language.

- (3) The language of a manuscript may, as a rule, be regarded as some years earlier than the language of the period in which the work is actually composed.

This may be a useful and safe principle, but it has to be followed with discretion and caution. A good deal depends on the nature of the contents of the work. For instance, take the *Mugdhrasodha Auktika*. It is a treatise on Sanskrit grammar, and the treatment is in a vernacular language just as an English writer would treat the grammar of a foreign language (Sanskrit, Gujarati, Hindi &c.) in English. There would be no justification in such a case to put the language of the work at a period earlier than its composition. On the other hand, especially in the case of poetical works some writers are tempted to write in language some years older than that of their own age. But a good deal must depend on collateral evidence, and the evidence of actual linguistic evolution in this matter.

- (4) The distinction between Jain Gujarātī and Non-Jain (or, as it is called Brāhministic) Gujarātī,—The question is how far should this distinction be respected in deciding whether the language of the work is the language of the people and of the times.

The rule I would observe would be this. The mere fact that a work is written by a Jain should not be a deciding factor; a good deal must depend on the nature of the contents. Works specially dealing with Jain religion, philosophy, and connected subjects, are likely, only likely, to have been written in language which was not of the country. But other works, for instance, ordinary *Pāśas*, *Prabandhas* &c. may not necessarily be regarded as written in Jain Gujarātī (as it is named) simply because the authors were Jains. For instance the *Kūṇhadade-prabandha* is certainly not in Jain Gujarātī. It is written by a non-Jain. If it had happened to have been from the pen of a Jain certain people would have set it down as a work in Jain Gujarātī. In the specimens given in Mr. Chimanlāl Dalal's paper on Patan Manuscripts there are some writings by non-Jains the language of which does not differ in any way from that of the Jain writers. It could not be that, in an age when Jainism and Brahminism were in opposite camps, a non-Jain would care to imitate the Jain style.

- (5) Obviously and designedly used artificial language must not be regarded as representing the period of the work

There are some works which abound in Magadhi and other obsolete peculiarities of language and we can at once discard them as foreign to the time of the work so far. Such works are *Silarati no Rāsa* for instance. We have also noticed before some obsolete formations in *Vimala prabandha*. As I have already given an illustration before ⁴⁰ we cannot regard words like ऊडड, नीलवट, देन etc. used by Rao Babalnr Keshavlal H. Dhruva in his writings as linguistic features of our times. I may add another instance. Mr. Nanālal Kavi has used the purely obsolete word महिरामण in one place ⁴¹. The word meant the sea in the old ballad lore of Kathiavada and it may be in use in Kathi language even now for ought I know. But in the literature of these days it is certainly an obsolete word attractive though it be in its old and romantic associations. None the less it is not a word which can be regarded as one known to Gujarati literature of our day. To do so would make wrong history. The same remarks apply to certain poems written by some young Kathiavadi writers in a language designedly foreign to our times the language of the romantic ballad literature or Kāthiavada of bygone days.

Having built this foundation we may now think of the superstructure in this literary survey. As said before we begin with the latter half of the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era. The towering figures marking the epoch are Narsinha Mehta and Mirabai ⁴². Both sing of Krishna as loving devotees both had

40 See *supra* pp 15-16 देन (an early form of दैत = affection now certainly obsolete) which I now add to the list there given is used by K. B. K. H. Dhruva in his translation of *Gita Govinda*.

41 This word can be traced back to महिरामण which is found in Bhāṭana's *Kaddambārī* (see p 81 l 7 K. H. Dhruva's edition).

42 The orthodox acceptation of Mirabai's period is the fifteenth century A. D. Several scholars have attempted to place her a century later and make her a contemporary of Akbar. They also reject the tradition which makes her the wife of Bumbhā Rānā, and state that

passed through severe trials and tests and persecution on account of their faith, and both came out through them brightened and chastened. However, the poetry of the former has the rough features of a man, that of the latter the grace of a woman. Unfortunately, their works are not handed down to us in the language in which the poets wrote them, and the charm of the originals, as we may call them, has considerably suffered in consequence. I need not reproduce the suggestive criticism of the poetry of these two which Mr. Krishnalal M. Javari has given. For that I would refer you to his useful and valuable work entitled "Milestones in Gujarati Literature." I shall only give selected specimens from the works of each of these two poets —

NARASINHA MEHTĀ.

(1)

शरद निशाए भीमहाराज के वनमां आविया रे छोल;
 मध्यनिशाए बजाही वीण के गोपिका चाटियां रे छोल.
 श्रवणे छणी मोरलीने नाद के सद्दु व्याकुल धर्या रे छोल;
 जे जेम ह्वतुं पोताने धाम ते तेम नीसर्ग्य रे छोल.
 जोयो पूरणनंद परिव्रज के छपडुष सर्व टळी रे छोल;
 जए नयणां भरि भरि नार के गोपी(का) सद्दु मळी रे छोल.
 वचन बोल्या भीमहाराज के कदो केम आवियां रे छोल;
 बळती बोली व्रजनी नार के तम आश्रये आवियां रे छोल.
 रंगभर रास रमाडो नाथ के शरद सोडामणी रे छोल,
 जग्यो सोळ कळानो चंद के हलडी हळी आपणी रे छोल.
 पूरण प्रीत जोई परिव्रज के रुदिया भीडियां रे छोल;
 रंगभर रमवा मांढ्यो रास के कारण सीसियां रे छोल.
 वाजे ताल पखाज ने झांझ के वीणा वांसळी रे छोल;
 नाचे नरसिंह नंदकुमार के गोपी(का) सद्दु मळी रे छोल.
 चार्कमां फरती व्रजनी नार के वचे राधा हरि रे छोल;
 नव सत सज्या (? सजिया) के शणमार के पावळे घूघरी रे छोल.

sha was the queen of Bhojarāj. In the absence of convincing proof, I do not accept the view which needlessly rejects the orthodox tradition. Thus I join her with Narasinha Mahtā as his contemporary.

हमची ले हरिजीनी साथ वे ताली ले हाथमां रे छोल,
नाचे नदर मदनगोपाल के जुस्तीना साथमां रे छोल.
अंतरिख देवता रहीं जुए वे गुप्ते ग्यायता रे छोल,
रूपे रूंदो नरसैयानो नाथ के मनमां भायता रे छोल

It is unfortunate doubly that we have no means of verifying the genuineness of pieces like this and that the charm of the old language of Narasimha Melita & lines is lost to us by obvious manipulation of the language of the poems. I have a further reason for doubting the authorship of this particular poem in the form of its composition. It is the well known *jarbi* form which as I have reasons for holding belonged to a very later period as late as Dayaram. But even in its present condition one can see the grace of language and simple beauty of description. As regards the sense it is possible to read an esoteric meaning in the external description of the *rusa lila* here.

Leaving this piece aside as of doubtful genuineness we might turn to one or two indisputable poems —

(2)

कामनी सर्व टोळे मळी मादयो वदवान राम,
बाजना चदन छत्रणां, रमे माथर पास
रासक्रीडा रमे माननी, गुण गाए गोविंद,
कोविलाकडे स्वर अरे, स्थिर थई रगो चंद
काठ माळया सर्व कामनी, सोढे सगल शणगार,
हार देधाना लहवता, झालरना झमसार
पलटव वाळी पटोळडी, गोरी शामळी नारी,
कुडलाकार करी रही, मध्ये आण्या मोरारि
त्रिभुवन घरणे चालता थाय दमदमकार,
पगतणा प्रहार राजी रक्षा, कोय न लह पार
शब्द कोय केना गुणे नही, सोले जुमरी वाणा,
रोहिणीपति रह स्थिर गम्माती रात्रि विद्वार्णी
ब्रह्मा शारदा आदि थई देवो जोयेडे रग,
नादनिर्घोष राजी रक्षा तागी तार म्रधग

मुनिजन मन विमासी रत्ना, धन धन कृष्णावतार;
नरसेयाचा स्वामी जुगमे प्रगट्या ते निरधार.

(Opening *pada* of *Rāta-sahasra-padi*)

Here is a living picture of a unique pastoral dance, which lasted throughout a moonlit night six months in length. The *gopis*, clad in rich *sādis* tucked up gracefully to facilitate the movements of the dance, the cloth ends similarly fastened round their wrists, and in the centre of the circle of these damsels, some fair, some brown but all lovely in their youth and grace stands the hero of the scene, the ever attractive Krishna. The stillness of the moonlight midnight is cleverly brought out by the poet in a single stroke. No words are uttered none are heard, they "speak little and in low tones" which also marks their complete surrender to the fascination of the dance. This stillness is also the magic effect of the music and song, sung by the *gopis* in their cuckoo-sweet notes are similarly brought out by a clever imaginative touch. स्थिर यह रत्नोद्, the moon stood still (in her course). [The naturalness of this imagining will be perceived when I tell you that a child, three years of age watching a *garbā* performance on a moonlight night remarked to me once. Look here. The moon is listening to the songs.] The picture is set in a scene of unique beauty. A still night with its calm unbroken by the song, and the sound of ankle bells, drums and cymbals, the silent moon watching the *rāsa* in fascinated raptness and the gods watching the whole in rapt admiration. The effect is secured by a flow of natural and simple words of rustic grace and easy movement.

(3)

निरख ने गगनमां कोण घूमी रत्नो,

तेज ह तेज ह शब्द बोले,

अपमना चरणमां दृष्टुं मरण रे,

आदियां सोइ नर्या कृष्ण तोरे.

निरख ने०

इयामशोभा घणी बुद्धि ना सके कळी

अनंत ओच्छरमां पय भूडी,

जडने चेतनरस करी जाणवो,
 पक्कौ प्रेमे सजीवन मूळो. निरख ने०
 जळइळ ज्योत उद्योत रवि कौटमां,
 हेमनी कोर ज्यदां निखरे तोळे;
 सच्चिदानन्द आनन्दक्रीडा करे,
 सोनाना पारणा मांदिं झले. निरख ने०
 वसौं विण, तेढ विण, सख विण जो वळो,
 अचळ झळके सदा अनळ दीपो,
 नेत्र विण निरगम्यो, रूप विण परसत्रो,
 वण जिह्वाए रम सरस पीवो. निरख ने०
 अरळ अविनाशी ए नय ज जाण वळयो,
 अरथ उरधनी महि म्हाले,
 नरसैयाचो स्वामी सखळ व्यापी रणो,
 प्रेमना ततमां संत झाले. निरख ने०

Here is perhaps the sublimest poem of Narayana Mehta nay one of the sublimest pieces in the literature of the world. The poet combines hero philosophic height with poetic beauty. He sees and asks us to see in the cosmic expanse in the expanse of the skies which symbolize the cosmos the Great Cosmic Soul crying out 'I am He' (सोऽहम्) in response to this cry the poet longs for death in Him, the death of the individual soul for there is nothing here below which is like Him (in fact there is nothing but Him). His splendour is beyond the reach of human intellect which loses its way in the eternal festival of the Universal Soul. Those who by the help of love have caught hold of the charm of imparting life to the dead, to the lifeless are asked to realize the Living Essence in lifeless matter. They then see the vision of dazzling Light, Light that is like myriads of suns to them is vouchsafed the sight of a golden streak of that Light, they see the Existing Living Joyous Paramatma, enjoying his great game of joy-being visible in the various manifestations of the Universe they see Him swinging in a cradle of golden Light. To them this Paramatma is an undying Lamp shining bright eternally, a Lamp with no

wick and unfed by oil of any kind. They see him without their material eyes they⁴³ feel him without any form though he is, they taste his sweetness without the help of a material tongue. He is undestructible, incomprehensible moves freely high above and down below such is Narasimha's Lord pervading all space. (Well, if so, he cannot be imprisoned and localized one may ask. Narasimha's answer is unique.) Yet Saints can catch hold of him and connect him with the fine thread of love. Here is a synthesis of knowledge and Love (ज्ञान and भक्ति) at once subtle and sublime.

I am tempted to give two more specimens of a different type

(4)

गोवर्धन चढी चिंतव्युं, दूर दीडी अनोपम नार,
तेजे त्रिभुवन मोही रत्नां जी रे, निरखे नदकुमार.
दोही बढाडो पढोची बळया, पूछ्युं केनी तमो छो नार ?
हींदोडो सौ मळपती, नच्यो घुंघटमां नण झरकार;
छो रे रभा के रे मोहनी ? के छो रे आनंद के चंद ?
के रे पाताळमांणी पन्ननी ? एमो विचार करे गोविंद.
नहि रे रंभा नहि रंभादेसी जी रे, नहि आनंद के चंद;
धनुमाननी कुंररी ५, राधे बाळ्छुहंद.
मोहुळमधुरां जाजं आहुं, ने शुं रे धया अजाण ?
हुं रे मोहुळनी गोवाल्णी, प्रभु ना आहुं मदीनां दाण

(*Dāna Līlā*).

This gives us a simple picture of Krishna's pastoral pastime and interview with the shepherd guls—a picture full of attractive color and charm.

(5)

मारो नाथ न बोले बोल, अबोलां मरिये रे
हुं नयम करी नेहुं विजोग ? हवे शुं मरिये रे ? अबोलां०

43 I render the word, परखवो, in the text by the word 'to feel,' deriving it not from परि+इक्ष्, but from स्पृश्=to touch, (the change of श् to ख being seen in Gujarātī in a few cases, e.g. देश-ईव), परिसिद्ध is ordinarily the Ap of स्पृशति but the स् change is visible in its case as a post-Ap phrase, unless the ख may be a misreading for स in परसवो (the two letters being similar in a way in old Mss.)

સાંભળ સહિયર વીનતી, આ દુઃખ કેમ સેહેનાયે રે ?
 મેલી ગયા છને માવજી, મારો જન્મારો ક્યમ જાયે રે ? અચોટાં
 ઘેરદીએ સામો મળે, તો વાટ મરોદી જાયે રે;
 ઝંઝું જોડં ત્યારે નીચુ જુરે, મને વડો વિમાસણ થાયે રે. અચોટાં

This describes in a naïve tone the heart-burning of a *Gopi* during a temporary estrangement between Krishna and herself. The charm of the piece lies in its unaffected and gentle outpouring and in the naturalness of the description of the two lovers, when Krishna deliberately shuns the shepherd girl at every turn.

I must now turn to Mirābāi. I am handicapped here by the difficulty, greater than in the case of Narasimha Mehta of selecting pieces of undoubted genuineness of authorship. Still I shall try and select the most probable pieces

(1)

રામરમકહું જહિયું રે, રાણાજી, મને રામરમકહું જહિયું.
 રમઝમ કરતું મારે મંદિરે પચારું, નહિ કોહને હાથે ઘડિયું રે. રાણાજી
 મોટામોટા ઘુનિજન મધી મધી પાચ્યા, કોઈ એક ચિરલાને હાથે ઘડિયું રે. રાણાજી
 શવશિલરના રે ઘાદનો ડવર અગમ અગોચર નામ પહિયું રે રાણાજી
 ચાઈં મીરાંકે પ્રણુ ગિરધર નાગર, મારું મન ચામઝિયા ઝું જહિયું રે. રાણાજી

Mirā's attachment to Krishna (here purposely represented by the synonymous word રામ) in this piece is shown in an enlightened view of God as really formless, the play toy which she has found is no material idol or image નહિં કોહને હાથે ઘડિયું chiselled by no mortal hand; it is a toy to secure which great saints and Rishis have toiled in vain, but which comes to the lucky rare devotee, comes of its own accord playfully and gaily. It is the Inscrutable and Incomprehensible One standing in its splendid isolation on the top of the mountain of Nothingness and Mirā has its realization in the heart of a Bhaktini to whom it is a priceless toy.

(2)

દવ તો યાગેલ ડુંગરમેં, વહોને ઓપાજી દવે કેમ કરિયે ।
 કેમ તે કરિયે, અમે કેમ કરિયે, દવ તો યાગેલ ડુંગરમેં. વહો ને.
 હાલવા જાયે તો વહાલા હાલો ન સકિયે,

बेसी रहिये तो अमे कळी मरिये रे, कहो ने०
 आ रे वस्तीए नथी ठेकाखु रे वहाला हे री,
 परवस्तीनी पांखे अमे परिय रे. कटो ने०
 ससार सागर महाजळ भरियो वहाला हे री,
 बाहेडी झालो नीकर वडी मरिये रे, कहो ने०
 बाई मीराके प्रभु गिरधर नागर हे री,
 गुरुजी तारे तो हम तरिये रे, कहो ने०

The poet here gives expression to the besetting difficulties and misery of this life and to reliance on the Better Life. This life is like a will fire in a forest from which there is no escape the only hope which sustains her is the shelter to be had in परवस्ती (residence elsewhere viz-life in the Great Beyond). She again compares this life to a great ocean where only the help of God the great Guru (Teacher) can save her from a watery grave

(3)

तमे जानी ल्यो ससुद्र सरीसा मारा वीरा रे,
 आ दिल तो खोलीने शिवो करो रे, हे जी
 आ रे कायामा छे बाहीभो रे हो जी,
 माहे मोर करेछे झिंगोरा रे मारा वीरा०
 आ रे कायामा छे सरोवर हो जी,
 माहे हस करे छे कल्लोडा रे मारा वीरा०
 आ रे कायामा छे हाटडा रे हो जी,
 तमे वणज वेपार करो ने अपरपारा रे मारा वीरा०
 बाई मीराके प्रभु गिरधरना गुण हो जी,
 देजो अमने सतचरणे वासेरा रे. मारा वीरा०

Mira lays bare before her brother devotee her heart and (in a metaphorical and metaphysical sense) her body (her inner self). The brother devotee is asked to light the lamp of spiritual insight or sympathy which will show the charms and happiness of her inner self he will find therein blooming gardens where peacocks raise their joyous notes he will have sight there of a beautiful lake wherein the swan (i.e. the soul or the Great Soul) lives merrily, he

will have spread before him there a row of shops where she asks the visitor to make endless purchases of spiritual wares. She concludes with a prayer that (in order to fulfil this ideal of hers) she may ever live at the feet of saints (or the Great Saint, God).

(4)

बोले श्रीणा मोर, राधे तारा दृग्गिरि पर बोले श्रीणा मोर.

मोर ही बोले बपैया ही बोले, कोयल करे घनशोर. राधे०

14 * * * भली बीजली चमके, बादल हवा घनघोर. राधे०

झरझर झरझर मेहुलो बरसे, भीजे मारा साझुहानी कोर. राधे०

बाई मीराके प्रभु गिरधरना गुण प्रभुजी म्हाारा चितहाना चोर. राधे०

Here is a poem in a different vein throwing on the screen a picture in a few items of sound and sight, at the same time making it a subtle background for the lonely figure of the heroine proceeding in a gentle shower of rain to meet her lover-god. A small difficulty confronts me in this piece as the first line is addressed to Radhā (presumably by Krishna) while the fourth line speaks of a woman (Radhā herself going to meet Krishna) who herself utters this line. Barring this the setting of black clouds and glistening lightning, the notes of the peacock the chitaka and the cuckoo and the drizzle of the gentle rain behind and about the solitary woman determined to meet her lover presents a vivid picture in which it is not difficult to read an occult sense, the devotee proceeding to his God through the difficulties of this life where if he is hampered by darkness and affliction his journey is also enlivened by the encouraging notes of supernatural inspiration.

It is possible to give a new interpretation to this song which will get rid of the difficulty noted just now. The first part of the song may be the words addressed by Krishna to Radhā and the

44 I can not guess what words these asterisks of omission stand for. The editor of the *Bṛhat Kāya doḥana* throws no light. Presumably the gap represents an undecipherable portion in the Ms.

third, fourth and fifth lines would be the reply of Rīdhā to Krishna. Thus Krishna speaks of the inviting and love inspiring notes of the singing birds, while Rīdhā draws attention to the rain wetting the fringe of her garment and winds up by suggesting that she risks this discomfort because Krishna is her चितडाનો चोर, he has robbed her of her heart. It is equally possible to read an esoteric meaning in this interpretation too. God finds and sympathetically and encouragingly shows the charms to be found in the life of man on earth and the devotee is ready to meet Him through the hardships of that life.

Next we take up Padmanābha whose *Kanhādade-prabandha*, attractive as it is is a link in the history of the Gujarāṭī language, stands prominent as a literary work for it is a rare example of a poem treating a secular and historical subject. It also presents some charming literary pieces. Here are some —

(1)

माइवि मिलइ सुहासणी, सखी, उटणी नवरंग घाट कि,
जाई सही य वधामणी, हृदयदलइ हरं न माइ कि, जो तु सही ॥
हार निगोदर बहिरसा, सखी, नेउर रणसज्जनमार कि ॥
घाट करु करि वनरमइ, सखी, मोतीडे पूरु चूक कि ॥
तिलर करु कुहुमतर्णा, सखी, ते रंगि राउ वधावु कि ॥
असर दली आविउ, सखी, शंकर छोडिउ बंध कि ॥
का-दहदे जीरे यय, सखी, बेलिइ मालदे बीर कि ॥

This is a song of welcome to the conquering hero, Kānhādāde, on his first return from the battlefield after defeating the Mussalman army, a song in simple touches of the painter's brush presenting before us a group of city damsels wearing saris of fresh tints, pearl necklaces on the bosom, wrist ornaments and jingling anklets, holding in their hands gold trays decorating the courtyard with patterns studded with pearls, marking the hero's forehead with the red paint of welcome, and wishing long life to Kānhādāde with his inseparable companion, his brother Vṇamade.

(2)

एक पतुती हो बगलही जी, तेहचा प्रेम अपार.
पीयू पोतई पायसि चढी जी, छत्र छीइ संभारि.
कइ मइ मन्मथ दृढ-पू जी, कइ हूं निर्गुण नाति.
पीयू परदेसि वीनवइ जी, आवि आव संभारि.
दिवस दोहिला हूं नीगमू जी, रयणि घनेरी थाइ.
विरहवेदना मादरी जी, पीयू विण रहणूं न जाइ.
जू जलहीणी माछही जी जीयइ नही जग मांदि.
कंतविह्वणी हो कामिनी जी तिम तिम रीणी थाइ.

This is a sweet little lyric in the middle of a big narrative poem. The occasion is this. The daughter of the ruler of Delhi is, by the poet's imaginative superimposition in the story, shown as in love with Viramadeva, brother of Kanhadadeva, and she claims him as her husband in former births. She goes as the King's representative to Jalor and interviews Kanhadadeva and Viramadeva, a curtain being placed between her and the two Rajput princes. She then describes her union with Viramadeva in previous births, and her feelings on account of being separated from her rightful lord in the present birth. She contrasts her condition with the happy state of the female crane enjoying the company of her mate in the rainy season, blames her ill luck, attributing it to some unknown offence given to the god of love. She passes her days in misery and the nights grow long to her. She likens her condition to that of a fish taken out from a stream, pining as she is for her lover day and night. (Viramadeva accepts her account of previous births, but rejects her advances, and the story goes on in its course of bloody battle and death.)

(3)

पूख प्रेम संभारिउ, आंसडे भीउ हार जी,
गुण फीदी अवगुण धया, 'अस कदि कारण सिणमार जी ?
सगुण सदण्णा राउळ ? रुतणूं विसू ?
हूं तां प्रेमगहेलही, तूं सोनगिर चहुभाणजी.

તું તાં પ્રાણદ માદર, હું તાં તાદરી ઘરિ નારી જો;
 જનમ એક અતરિ ગણ, સો નેહલ મ વિસારિ જી.
 હૃયલહ ઘણ ગદબડયું, તુ સુણિ ન અઘારા નાપજી,
 તું અમરાપુરી સાંવરિ, હું મરણિ ન મેલું સાથજી.

After several ups and downs in the fight, Viramadeva is killed on the battle field, and his head is taken, embalmed, to Delhi, and when presented before the Delhi princes, the head turns the face away from her as, while alive, Viramadeva had sworn not to see the face of the princess. At this, the princess laments and the lament is embodied in this lyrical piece, just above quoted, where in her unhappy condition is described in a few but expressive words. She recalls the love between her and Viramadeva in previous births, tears stream down and wet her necklace, and she hates the pearls on her neck, which, once charming, were now an aversion to her, for what was the object now in such adornments? She addresses the lover's head, "Oh graceful and accomplished Raval why are you offended with me? I am mad with love, although you were born in the Songira Chahuvan clan, you are the giver of life to me, I am your wedded wife, Oh do not forget the love we bore each other, only one birth apart! My heart is agitated, and you hear me not! Now that you have marched towards heaven, in death I will not leave thy company."

We have a number of works by several poets, subsequent to this period, which are noteworthy more for their linguistic interest than for literary merit of an outstanding nature. I shall therefore refrain from giving any specimens from them, and content myself with a mere mention of the names, authorship and dates of some of them. Here they are —

	Name of work	Author	Date
1	<i>Sitiharana</i> સીતાહરણ	Karmana Mantri	V S 1526
2	<i>Dasama Standha</i> દશમ સ્કંધ	Kesava Kavi	V S 1529
3	<i>Hari lila</i> હરિલીલા	Bhima	V S 1541
4	<i>Prabodha-prakāśa</i> પ્રબોધપ્રકાશ	DG	V. S 1546

It may be noted that No 4 in this list is practically a synopsis of the Sanskrit play, *Prabothachandradaya*. The poet begins thus

प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयप्रसङ्गं (Sic ! स्याद्) यथाबुद्धि विवेचनम् ।

ओनृसिद्धप्रसादेन करिष्येति (Sic ! न) तिविस्तरम् ॥ २ ॥

We may skip over these works therefore and pertinently turn to other poets of the same and subsequent periods We begin with

Bhâlana

His best known works are *Kidambari* (a metrical translation of Bâna's original work), and two *Nalakhyanas*. We have no time for other works out of his voluminous compositions. I cull only a few specimens —

Kiddambari (About the middle of the 16th century V. S.)

(1)

वात करती एन कदि “मिण्या मयु ए काठ ।

हृदिग् चान्पु नहों चुंन देई बाळ ॥

नाहानानाहाना दत्त वि नि चुंनर सुखवु वान ।

पुन हसतु नहों दीडु करावतां पयपान ॥

चरण बागि घुघरी अगुडी वळगु जाय ।

ए छप हूं पामा नहों हवि फरुं मिश्रु उराय ॥

नेसाळीधी मणी आये पाटी सडिउ दाधि ।

आइ कही बोलावतु घरि बाळ घालि बाधि ॥

ए उरि वीतु नही जे पुत्रमाता नाम ? ।

एणी पिरि मनि दुख आणि नित्य परति स्वामि ॥

(Pp 41-42)

The simple charms of this beautiful passage is untranslatable. I shall not attempt a verbal or close translation, lest the poetry of the piece should escape in the attempt. I shall only describe the contents. Vilâsavati, King Tarâpidi's queen, is here depicted as lamenting the misfortune of her childless state. Her maid of honour relates to the king the queen's mental condition.

“Fruitless”, says the queen, “fruitless is my union with my husband ! Oh when shall I ever clasp my child to my bosom and imprint kisses on his cheek ? To me is denied the sight of my child laughing in my lap and displaying two tiny teeth and a face shining with its beauty, while having his drink from my bosom ? When ever should I watch my child tripping lightly on his toes, the the anklet bells jingling on his feet I see no help To see my child return from school, ink pot and writing board in hand, rushing up to me crying “Mummy dear ” and holding me in his embrace, such happiness is not to be mine my desire for such happiness is denied its fulfilment Oh ! my Laege Lord ! daily mourns the queen this wise, the happy estate of motherhood being not her portion ”

This picture will appeal with real force to those who are familiar with Indian domestic life This piece is Bhālanāś own contribution, not to be found in Banās original, and a happy contribution it is

(2)

णपिरि बटु करी विहाय घृष्टी पई पडाई आप ।
छटा केश नयनि बहि नीर शोकि विव्हल धरूं शरीर ॥
कपोलि छदि फेरवती पाणि रुदन करंती बोली धानी ।
पुंडरीक तु निष्ठुर धरूं दुख न जाणि जे भमतणूं ॥
बलि कंठि लेई धातूं हाथ करु सुवन चोदूं जिनार ।
एककावली ग्रही नि कई मन महा शोक धकी अति दहूं ॥
फटि पापिणी एकावली पासि हू तो कंठि म्यली ।
हूं आवूं तिहां लगि निर्वाण वाहालाना नविराख्या प्राण ॥
कर्विजलनि करु प्रणाम पाउ मित्र जीरग्ह स्वामि ।
तरटिकानि बलगी गलि गा हि रोई नि मनि बली ॥
तेणी वेडां शोक बचन किहीइ थां ऊरनां रुईनि ।
अजशीली विहिल अमृत किहि किही इ थो आवहु निवास ॥

(p 116 ll 7-13)

This passage comes in the story of Mahāśvetā related by herself to Chandrāpīda After describing in what terms she lamented the death of Pundarika she says

"Thus I went on lamenting over and over, I threw myself on the ground violently, the hair of my head flew wildly about, tears streamed from my eyes, and my whole frame was shaken with grief. I stroked my cheeks and my bosom with my hand, and crying aloud I spoke thus "Oh Pundarika ! Thou art heartless indeed ! For thou dost not realize my grief " Again I lifted him and put my arm round his neck, and showered kisses on him, crying "Oh ! my lord ! my beloved lord ! " With heavy grief consuming my heart, I held in my fingers the pearl necklace (which was my love token sent to him), and addressing it I said "Shame to thee, oh wicked necklace ! You were close to him resting on his neck, verily you could have preserved the life of my beloved Pundarika the while I could come up." I bowed my head to Kapanjala and said "Oh ! my lord ! bring thy friend back to life ! " Clinging to Taralika's neck, I wept bitterly and was being consumed by grief. I wonder now whence at that time words of lament flowed from my lips in the midst of my weeping; how untaught at the first attempt I learnt to heave sighs of grief."

Here is a piece of unique charm and liveliness —

(3)

अनेक नारी, भूषण चारी, कंपशं करि केडि,
 विषापरह छोक जाणी अप्सरानि मेडि.
 चित्रशाला रमि बाछा, करि गणघर गान,
 चंप साचि नटी नाचि; जाणी अमर विमान.
 ध्वजा फरकि, गूडी सरकि, पंचरंग छरान;
 मृदंग वागि सरस टागि देवमवन समान;
 उपवन दडि, मधुप झडि, वारं वाय सगंध;
 कोकिल बोडि, तरुणी तोलि कामी करवा अंध.
 जटजत्र चाडि, को न झालि, छांटा उडि नीर,
 रोहं राखि मधुर भासि, त्रिविध बहिर् समीर.
 दाहिम होडि, कीर फांलि, बोडि मधुर वचन;
 मंदार मिहिकि, पुष्प विहिकि बहुट वासित वन.
 नारि चमकी, नयूर समवि, ठमकि चाडि चाडि,
 वेणि चडकि, नाग सडकि; झालि झलकि गाडि.

पाणि आलोडि, अंग मोडि, जाणि जोडी हाथ;
 मेखला खलकि मंन टलकि; सुघड चालि साधि.
 वंकि चालि नयन वाळि, वाळि सुनिनां मंन,
 कोटि कामिनी रमि भामिनी तेज तपती तंन.

(*Kādamari, Pura bhāga*, p. 33)

This description, full of variety and vivacity, is Bhālana's own contribution, not found in Bana's original

Only one more specimen, this one from the *Nalāhhyāna*.

(4)

वांक कशो प्रभु माहारो रे आवी कहो माहारा नाथ रे ।
 दुःखसागरमां धुदतां रे कंधजी दीजे हाथ रे ॥
 धर्मराय तहमो काहावीआ रे ते मिध्दा करशो नाम रे ।
 आवी आर्लिगन दीजिए रे मारा मनहाना विभ्राम रे ॥
 चोरीमां जे वहुं रे एक आपणूं चित्त रे ।
 ते जूढं नव कीजिए रे शुं धयुं जुजुड चित्त रे ॥
 मीठ भागळ देखुं नहि रे उत्तर नापो आज रे ।
 किया काजमां नाशी रघ्वा रे सुहुने वाहो छौ महाराज रे ॥
 प्राण न जाए पापीओ रे बांजुं नावे मर्ण रे ।
 कथ तजीने जो गवा रे तो जइए कोने शणं रे ॥
 आ वन गहन बीहामथुं रे एकली अबला देह रे ।
 कीर्धा पूरव भवतणां रे केम न आवे छेद रे ॥
 सुख सुकाए माहारुं रे जळ पाओ राजव रे ।
 भें तो एवा हीणा जाण्या नहि रे वीरसेनना तन रे ॥
 माहारुं दुःख सुने छे नहि रे दुःख तमारुं थाय रे ।
 थाक्या थइ जहवारुं बेसशो रे कोण चांपशे पाय रे ॥
 हुं वनफळ आणीने आपती रे पिष्ट शीतळ नीर रे ।
 सेवा स्वामीनी करुं रे मन राखीने घीर रे ॥
 वाथ सिंहने वानरा रे बीहाने वळवंत रे ।
 कोए पण करतो नथी आणी धेळा अंत रे ॥

Damayanti, deserted unawares by her husband, Nala, in a trackless jungle, full of dangers from wild animals, addresses these lines to her unseen lord and pours out her grief in helpless solitude in words full of simple pathos

"How have I wronged you, of my lord ! Do come if only to tell me that My beloved ! extend your helping hand when I am sinking down in the ocean of misery They called you the dutiful King, Oh ! do not falsify that name. Oh ! thou solace of my heart ! Come and clasp me in your soothing embrace At the marriage altar you swore that our hearts were one, do not prove that false now, can it ever be that our hearts should now be separate ? I do not see you before my eyes, I hear no answer from you now what has moved you to flee and hide yourself ? Or are you simply trying to deceive me in joke ? This wicked breath of mine leaves me not, the death I crave comes not to me When the husband has left and deserted me, whose shelter can I seek ? This thick forest frightens me, alone and weak woman that I am Pricking thirst dries up my lips, oh my lord ! give me a cooling draught of water, verily I know the son of Virisena cannot be mean I care not for my own misfortune it is for you I am anxious, when, tired and worn out, you will drop down on the ground, who will soothe you with the stroking hand ? In our united wanderings I used to fetch you wild fruit and cool water for drink, patiently I used to wait on your comforts thus All about in this forest powerful tigers, lions and even monkeys, frighten me and yet none of them puts an end to my life in this miserable life of mine "

Vimala-prabandha (V S 1568) Edited by Manikil B Vyās)

(1)

Khanda V

कदलीयं जंघ जुअली दंतपंति ते दादिम कटी ।

पुटागाढ लाड आंसडी राता अपर मधुर माखडी ॥ ४३ ॥

हरिदंकी ह्रींति मलपती गजबज हंस हरावि गति ।

रूपिहं रंमा कि रोहिणी कि इंदाणी कि मोहिनी ॥ ४४ ॥

अमरीह्वरी जे उरंशी नाग लोचनी नारी जयी ।

जोता रूप न आवर पार उरि पहिरिउ क्कादडि द्वार ॥ ४५ ॥

પાણિ આલોદિ, અંગ મોદિ, જાણિ જોડી હાપ;
 મેલલા લલકિ મંન ટલકિ; સપ્પદ ચાલિ સાપિ.
 વંકિ ચાલિ નયન વાલિ, વાલિ મુનિનાં મંન,
 વોદિ વામિની રમિ મામિની તેજ તપતી તંન.

(*Kālamārī, Pura 11*)

आविस माधवच आंखि मांहा आर्हि काजळ देशि ।
 पत्नी लागूं छडं पीड तुझ म म जाइसि परदेशि ॥ २०७ ॥
 आव आरीसामांदि हूं बंमण बांधुं कंठि ।
 दित्तिपति खुलइ खप करी निम्हइ न छुटइ गंठि ॥ २०८ ॥
 आज अमोढामांदि परं ईशतणइ जिम गंग ।
 हूं विळपंती विरहिणी स्वामि म छंडिसि संग ॥ २०९ ॥

The fair heroine (Kīma kandra) whispers into the ears of her lover "Oh Mādhava ! leave me not ! I shall construct a subterranean room to keep you therein. If it so pleases you I will hold you in side my heart, pray do not walk one step onward, leaving me behind. If you enter my eyes, I shall put up an obstruction by applying collyrium there, I beseech you, falling at your feet—do not go abroad. Come in front of the mirror, I shall lock you in a neck embrace and even if the sun opens out his petals, I shall not loosen the embrace. I will wear you today in the knot of the hair of my head, even as Śiva wears Gangā afraid of being separated from you, I cry leave me not, my Lord ! leave me not ! [I have not touched stanza 205 as the sense is not quite clear]

नांदरूप नीळी धरं वसुमती वाधित वान ।
 हूं सुखी स्वामी विना शेजि जिथी शमशान ॥ १४४ ॥
 आरण वरसइ सरपटे नयन न खंचइ धार ।
 तेजि तणाउं तान विण स्वामी शि न परइ सार ॥ १४५ ॥
 पणम ते जाणे पाळणां पवन ते लाइ लण ।
 पदी पदी हूं तडकई पीडि निवारइ कूण ॥ १४६ ॥
 गिरि गिरि बाधइ वेढडी परि परि शूल विनाश ।
 मंडइ मोर कटा घणी विरहूनियातनि त्रास ॥ १४७ ॥
 दीशि न दिणपर दीधीइ निशि ताराशशिदीण ।
 वेदन बाधइ विरहिणी विण विण धाइ खीण ॥ १४८ ॥
 धीज पचइ चातुक छचइ दादुर तिमरी तोय ।
 विरहिणीभातनि वेदना मायण सरइ विशेष ॥ १४९ ॥

In this piece the heroine, separated from her lover, laments her lonely condition and contrast it with the joyous aspects of nature all

वीणि दंड ठंढ लहलहइ रूपि न राणी पासिइ रहइ ।

काने जडित खरी सीटली सबकि जालि हाथि बीटली ॥ ४६ ॥

These lines describe, in more or less conventional similes, but in well chosen and melodious words, the beauty of Vimala's bride, Sri No translation is called for

(2)

Khanda VI

तरे परद्विय पाय रहियु रद नांढी भीमि भडादिय माल भइ ।

घण घाय घडकिय सूर घरकिय रोम सलकिय भारवइ ।

चल चंद चमकिय मेरु करकिय ताम धुसकिय घोर धरा ।

जय विमल जमलि मही माल भइतइ पिकखइ सखर कोडि नरा ॥ ९८ ॥

घण मिलाइ सुटि कि भजइ पुटि कि उठवि उठ चहंत बहइ ।

घण हथोइतिथइ, बत्थोबत्थिइ, सत्थोसत्थिइ शीत बहइ ।

करि करइ कडकिय भजइ हइकि धुजइ गुहकि भार भरा ।

जय० ॥ ९९ ॥

This is a description of a wrestling match between Vimala and a professional wrestler. The lines are written in a vigorous word style suited to the occasion

Madhavanala-dogdhaka-prabandha, *Anga*⁴⁵ V, V. S 1584
by Ganapati, a Kāyastha

(1)

माधव तुम्हो म चालिसिउ गोरी संपइ गज ।

भलं कराविशि भूइं मांदि राखिनि तुज ॥ २०४ ॥

भेदी भळी परि भीतमांदि कठ उरहु करेसि ।

भूप भोलावो भवसिद्धि दादव सिउ विचरेसि ॥ २०५ ॥

कदि तु कालिज माहां धरं राखु हृदय मझारि ।

मूझनि मूकी माधवा पगलं रखे पधारि ॥ २०६ ॥

45. This date is accepted on the authority of the following line at the conclusion of the Ms furnished by the Baroda Central Library: वेद भुजंगम बाणशशि विक्रम वरस विचार । Whereas 1574 is the year given at P. 113 of the Library Miscellany Vol 2, Nos 3-4 (भुजंगम in the line quoted symbolizes the figure eight).

आविस माधवव आंखि मांहा आर्डि काजळ देशि ।
 पागी छागं छडं पीढ तुझ म म जाइसि परदेशि ॥ २०७ ॥
 आव आरीसामांदि तुं बंमण बांधुं बंठि ।
 चित्तिपति खुलइ खप करी किम्हइ न छुटइ गंठि ॥ २०८ ॥
 आज अमोढामांदि थरं ईशतणइ जिम गंग ।
 हुं विळपंती विरहिणी स्वामि म छंडिसि संग ॥ २०९ ॥

The fair heroine (Kāma kandalā) whispers into the ears of her lover "Oh Ma llhava ! leave me not ! I shall construct a subterranean room to keep you therein If it so pleases you I will hold you in side my heart, pray do not walk one step onward, leaving me behind If you enter my eyes, I shall put up an obstruction by applying collyrium there, I beseech you, falling at your feet—do not go abroad Come in front of the mirror, I shall lock you in a neck-embrace and even if the sun opens out his petals, I shall not loosen the embrace I will wear you today in the knot of the hair of my head, even as Siva wears Ganga, afraid of being separated from you, I cry leave me not, my Lord ! leave me not " [I have not touched stanza 205 as the sense is not quite clear]

नांदरूप नीळी धरं ब्रह्मती वाधित वान ।
 हुं खरी स्वामी विना शेजि जिशी शमशान ॥ १४४ ॥
 आरण बरसइ सरजटे नयन न खंचइ चार ।
 तेणि तणार्ड ताग विण स्वामी शि न करइ सार ॥ १४५ ॥
 पणग ते जाणे पाठणां पवन ते लाइ लूण ।
 पदी पदी हुं तढकट पीडि निवारइ रूण ॥ १४६ ॥
 गिरि गिरि वाधइ वेढडी परि परि द्युळ निशाश ।
 मंडइ मोर फळा घणी विरह्णियातनि त्रास ॥ १४७ ॥
 दीशि न दिणयर दीशीइ निशि ताराशशिहीण ।
 वेदन वाधइ विरहिणी सिण सिण थाइ खीण ॥ १४८ ॥
 बीज खचइ चातुक छचइ दादुर तिमरी तेज ।
 विरहिणीआतनि वेदना भारण सरइ विशेष ॥ १४९ ॥

In this piece the heroine, separated from her lover, laments her lonely condition and contrasts it with the joyous aspects of nature all

दमयंती राय नठ तणी सुणो सुंदरी रे ।
 ते चढी कयाडीने हाथ गेहेली कोणे करी रे ॥ ११ ॥
 हरिश्चंद्र तारालोचनी^{४७} सुणो सुंदरी रे ।
 ते वेचाणी पर हाथ गेहेली कोणे करी रे ॥ १२ ॥
 छंदा सरसीए भोगव्युं सुणो सुंदरी रे ।
 संध्यावती सदपाय गेहेली कोणे करी रे ॥ १३ ॥
 पट्टांने महा दुःख पळ्यां सुणो सुंदरी रे ।
 तो आपण कोण मात्र गेहेली कोणे करी रे ॥ १४ ॥

(*Kaddā 23 of Virata parva*)

In a simple but direct and appealing style the poet here puts into the mouth of Yudhishthira words of comfort addressed to Draupadi when she related to him the insulting behaviour of Kichaka towards her—

"Do not grieve at all, my beautiful queen ! (I know) we have suffered immensely (But) happiness treads on the heels of misfortune. What are our misfortunes by the side of those undergone by others. Sitā, the purest of women, was carried away by Itakhasas, Duryanti, Nalī's queen, fell into the hands of a wood-cutter, Tārā-mati, the consort of Harisēhantra, was sold as a slave to strangers, Vrinlā passed through trying suffering so also the well behaved Sindhjāvati "

Here we may pause in our journey, We have got an idea of the literature from the latter half of the fifteenth century (Vikrama era) to the middle of the seventeenth century. It will show the nature of the language of these two centuries, and more particularly the nature of the literature of that period ⁴⁸

47. *Tārā lochani*,—This name is unusual, and found here for the first time. *Tārāmati* is the name usually and familiarly known.

48. We may throw here a side glance at the contribution to our literature made by Parsi writers during the early part of these two centuries. There are some Sanskrit translations of the religious works of the Parsis rendered from Avesta and Pehlvi by the well known priest Nerijoesang Dhaival the Sanskrit was translated into Gujarati by priests who followed him, and we have got some fragments of this

about her "The month of Śrāvana is full of showers of rain, and from my eyes flow endless streams of tears, and I am carried away in that stream on and on, Oh ! my lord ! why do you not rescue me ?" (The author indulges in such concepts occasionally)

"Here in my bed I lie restless, who will remove my suffering ?" Agun, " On every mountain peak flourishes each creeper and flowers blossom all around, the peacock spreads out his wealth of feathers (in sheer joy);—while the parted lover suffers in body (and mind)" and so forth

Nākara.

V S 1550 to 1630 40

Thus poet was not much known till the discovery made by some research workers. I shall select only one or two specimens from his voluminous works.

राय शुषिडिर बोडिया छणो सुंदरी रे । ⁴⁶

तुं मा आणीच दुःख उतार गेहेली कोणे करी रे ॥ १ ॥

विपत्ति पडे सुख त्यां थडूं छणो सुंदरी रे ।

पाम्यां दुःखनो मर्हि पार गेहेली कोणे करी रे ॥ २ ॥

सीता समान को साधनी छणो सुंदरी रे ।

ते साही गया राक्षस सोय गेहेली कोणे करी रे ॥ १० ॥

46 This double refrain appears to have been in fashion with poets of these times. Bhāmā is the earliest poet who uses it in his *Kaddambari Pūrva bhāga*, *Kadavū* 10 (सुणि सुंदरी, गिहेली दुणि करी are the words, the sense fits in well there with the context). After that we find

(2) Nākara, *Virāṭa-parva*, *Kadavū* 23 (V. S. 1601) as in the specimen in the text above,

(3) Visvanātha Jāt, *Narsinhā Mēta nu-Jitana Charitra*, *Kadavū* 22 (V. S. 1708).

(4) Premānanda, *Suddam Charitra*, *Kalavi* 4 (V. S. 1738)

In (3) the sense does not fit in well with the context

I have not been able to investigate whether this refrain is used by Jain poets, or any poets other than those noted here. This much is certain, however, that Bhāmā used it appropriately, and other poets copied it with varying appropriateness of sense.

દમયંતી રાય નહ તળી છળો હંદરી રે ।
 તે ચઢી કઢાઢીને હાથ મેઢેલી કોળે કરી રે ॥ ૧૧ ॥
 હરિશંદ તારાલોચની⁴⁷ છળો હંદરી રે ।
 તે ઘેચાળી પર હાથ મેઢેલી કોળે કરી રે ॥ ૧૨ ॥
 હંદા સરસીય ભોગ્યું છળો હંદરી રે ।
 સંઘ્યાવતી સદપાત્ર મેઢેલી કોળે કરી રે ॥ ૧૩ ॥
 પટલાંને મહા દુઃખ પળ્યાં છળો હંદરી રે ।
 તો આપળ કોળ માત્ર મેઢેલી કોળે કરી રે ॥ ૧૪ ॥

(*Kadavā 23 of Virata parva*)

In a simple but direct and appealing style the poet here puts into the mouth of Yudhishtira words of comfort addressed to Draupadi when she related to him the insulting behaviour of Kichaka towards her—

“Do not grieve at all, my beautiful queen ! (I know) we have suffered immensely (But) happiness treads on the heels of misfortune What are our misfortunes by the side of those undergone by others Sitī, the purest of women, was carried away by Rakshasas, Duryanti, Nali's queen, fell into the hands of a wood-cutter, Tārāmā, the consort of Harischandra, was sold as a slave to strangers, Vrinī passed through trying suffering so also the well behaved Sindhyāvatī ”

Here we may pause in our journey, We have got an idea of the literature from the latter half of the fifteenth century (Vikrama era) to the middle of the seventeenth century It will show the nature of the language of these two centuries , and more particularly the nature of the literature of that period ⁴⁸

47. *Tārā lochanī*.—This name is unusual, and found here for the first time *Tārāmā* is the name usually and familiarly known.

48 We may throw here a side glance at the contribution to our literature made by Parsi writers during the early part of these two centuries There are some Sanskrit translations of the religious works of the Parsis rendered from Avesta and Peshavā by the well known priest Noriyosang Dhaval the Sanskrit was translated into Gujarati by priests who followed him, and we have got some fragments of this

We may now go forward and look at the literature of the period after V S 1650. We shall however pass over the three minor lights, Vasto, Vachharāj and Tulsī of the sixteenth century of the Christian Era. They are generally regarded, as solitary stars in the firmament of the poetic literature of that period. The reason assigned is the politically disturbed state of the country. Govardhanram M. Tripathī in his "Classical Poets of Gujarat" (P. 27), accounts for this darkness in the literary history of Gujarat by this disturbed condition. He includes in this the period from 1472 A D (= V S 1528)—when

Gujarātī,—or rather the language then prevalent in Gujarāt, given in the Appendices to these works published under the auspices of the Parsi Panchāyat and edited by the late lamented scholar, Šherārjī Bheruchā. A glance at the language shows that it must belong to a period ranging between the fifteenth century and the eighteenth century (Vikrama ere). The date of Neriyosang himself is not yet finally settled. But it is believed by scholars of authority that he flourished about the latter half of the twelfth century A D (See S K Hodivāle "Parsis of Ancient India", p. 54, where he puts 1166 A D as Neriyosang's probable date). There is therefore every probability that his Sanskrit was translated into the local language. This happened several centuries after the Parsis landed at Sanjān at the close of the seventh century A D or during the last quarter of the eighth century. (Mr Shapurjī K. Hodivāle gives 696 or 697 A D as the date of this landing. See his "Parsis of Ancient India" P. 50, Col. 1. Dr Jivanjī J. Modi in his book entitled "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis", p. 9 fixes the date as 785 A D.) I need not here go into the controversy about this date. But this much I must say that Dr Jivanjī Modi's paper on the *Kisse : Sanjān* convincingly establishes the date 785 A D, while Prof. S. H. Hodivāle, in his paper on 'The Traditional dates of Parsi History', *Journal of the Iranian Association*, Vol. II, No. 10 January 1914, tries to discredit this view. But in my mind he has run into several errors, the main cause whereof is his incorrect interpretation of certain portions in the *Kisse : Sanjān*, especially the word "badāngāh" (p. 316 J. I. A. January 1914) wrongly rendered as 'in those times' or 'during that period', the correct sense being 'at that time', and then calling the time 'delightfully vague' (p. 317). The passage in the *Kisse : Sanjān* which says "Islam entered Chāmpāner 500 years after its arrival in India" which fits into Dr Modi's argument properly is brushed aside by Prof. Hodivāle in a superficial manner.

Junagadh was conquered by Mahomed Begada—to 1573 A. D. (=V. S. 1629). Was this, however, a period of darkness in poetic literature? A glance at the chronology of poets and their works just now related will disprove it. Just see—

V. S.	Poet and work.
1526	<i>Sitā-harapa</i> by Karmapa Mantri.
1529	<i>Dafama Shandha</i> by Kāvya
1490-1570	Bhālāpa
1541	<i>Hari-līlā</i> by Bhīma.
1546	<i>Prabodha-pralāta</i> by dṛ.
1548	<i>Ushā-harapa</i> by Jauṛdāna.
1568	<i>Vimala-prabandha</i> by Lāṇyasaṁaya Gapi.
1581	<i>Mādhavānala-prabandha</i> by Gaṇapati.
1550-1630-40	Nākara.

These poets and their works were not discovered, not all of them, when Govardhanrām wrote his above named paper, and he is not much to blame for his incorrect estimate of the literary situation during this period. An intellectual inspiration like that which discovered the missing minor planets between Mars and Jupiter, would have perhaps stimulated the discovery of these poets. But they are brought to light by the milder process of accident, and we are all the same thankful to those who have thus brought before us works—several not yet published—belonging to this period which no longer can be regarded as one of literary darkness.

The period of half a century between 1650 and 1700 V. S. appears blank just now. Thereafter we have

Viśvanātha Jāni (V. S. 1708).

His noteworthy work deals with episodes in the life of Narasinha Mehta, which has been drawn upon profusely by Premānanda Kavī of extensive fame who followed him or was more or less his contemporary. I subjoin a few typical extracts.—

एक रथ मनोहर मागी आप्यो सयउ सयउ अग ।

एक रुद्र बळद ने आपलो जोदया जोरी प्रसंग ॥

सहस्र कटके वणी सांगी शोभानो नहि पार ।
 खटखट चेचूं चालतां बहु शब्द थाये सार ॥
 हांकतां वेसे बळदियो भाखळो ताणी जाय ।
 नाथे झाल्या नव रहे नरानतर बहु थाय ॥
 चढे बेसे ने ऊतरे ताणे झाडी नाथ ।
 जे कृष्ण वाणी ओचरे एम पोद्दोऽयो सवळो साथ ॥

This describes Narasinha Mehta's journey to the town where his daughter stayed, the chariot a loan from some one, so beautiful that all its parts were slack and disjointed, to it were yoked two bulls, one a gelding (bullock) and the other an entire bull, the sort of the vehicle was strung with bits of string broken into a thousand pieces, such was its beauty, and the chariot, while in motion, gave squeaking and rattling noises, the bullock, when driven, stopped down on its haunches, while the bull pulled the carriage away, unrestrained even when held by the nose string, Narasinha Mehta had to get off the carriage and pull the immoveable bullock by the nose string, and vainly prompt him by exclaiming "Victory be to Krishna !"

The news of the arrival of this saint having reached the daughter's parents in law the ladies of the house, with a sense of the coming rushed out to see the novel sight —

कोण सामग्रीशुं आढ्यो छे भाइयो हुंवर वट्टनो तात ॥
 स्वर्गयी जेम अप्सरा दोढे अमरावतीने काज ।
 खळकती चूडी रूपे रुही नेहे नमती लाज ॥
 अलळ अहीं शुं रही उभी महेतो भाव्या द्वार ।
 कारज मूकी कामिनी इसवा लागी नार ॥
 शंखणी साहामो ऊभो मांटो शीघ्र अंबर ओढ ।
 हुंभर केहे शुं चढाव्यो तरुणी पहरो अचोडय ॥
 मेरय अर्द्धी रहे अळगी चंपाणो माहारो पाय ।
 उरज माहारो अंग खुंचे जोवानो नहि लाग ॥

The beautiful damsels are rushing forth like Apsarās from heaven, their bangles jangle while they run, their crowding one another

is described by the talk amongst themselves "Silly one ! Why do you stand motionless ! Lo ! the Mehta has come to the door" (leaving their work all the young women turned to laugh at the sight) "Oh, you wench ! your husband is standing in front, draw your *sāḍa* over your head" "Why are you carrying your child on your hip ?" "Death seize you, girl ! stay away from me ! you are treading on my foot, and your bosom hurts me, you won't get a glimpse here". (This exchange of words amongst the women folk reminds one of a similar passage in Bhāṣina's *Kāḍambāri*, part I, *Kāḍā* 10. The following lines find a distinct echo in Nāṣar's description —

चंचलदृश्ये चीतु, देखि तुज भरतार,
अवटं ओटवूं पिशाचिणी । ए हसिति संसार. (p 59, ll 8-9)
पयोधरि पीडी घणं, पाटी रहि टगार,
एकली गुल रंधी रही, जोया आयु डार.

(p 59. ll 8-9) (p I *ibid*, ll 14 15)

Vishṇudasa.

(V S. 1634 to 1716, the period covered by the dates of his works)

(This Vishṇudās was a Nāṣari by caste and belonged to Camrav, he is not to be confounded with another of the same name, a son of Bhāṣina, who completed his *Uttam Kanda*, in V S. 1575)

The following extracts from the *Harischandra-līlā* composed by Vishṇudasa of Catubay will be sufficient —

(1)

तारा एतुं रे वायक सांभली आरंभ करे रे अपार;
चेतन पासे रे परणी दळी करती ददेमां रे प्रहार. १.
वडी जागीने रे बट्टे पर बलबले रुदन करे रे आंठघार;
आरंभ करती रे गर्द उमानमां ज्यां पडयो रे निज कुमार. २
मारा कुंजर काटा रे क्यां पोचो वनमां य,
तुज पासे हुं एकली केम देह राखु मां य. १
सुजपासे रहेतो नदि रे हुं लडावती अनंदन;
ते वीतारी पुत्र ते आज वात क्यो केम वन. २.

સુલ્લ પામી સહુ જાણતી તેં મિથ્યા કીધો મોહ;
 હું મંદ ભાગ્યળીને તજી વાહલા વાં કર્યો વિહોદ. ૩.
 જતુનીને છેદ ન દીજિયે પુત્ર તુજને ન ઘટે એમ;
 મીઠા મધુરા વાહુડા વીસાઈ વાહલા કેમ. ૪.

* * * * *

ઝઠો સુત મંદિર જડ્યે સર્વે જોતા હશે વાટ,
 રીસાઈ નહિ પોરિયે રે સુત કાં કર્યું સુનાટ. ૭.
 સુને મા વહી કોણ વોલાવશે મારી કોણ પૂરશે આશ,
 વમંદીળ હું કામનીને તેં ક્યમ પૂકી રે નિરાશ. ૮

Tāra, the queen of Harischandra, on hearing of the death by snake bite of her only son, began to lament and beat her bosom, and dropped on the ground in a swoon. Awaking from her swoon, she again cried and wept and went to the garden where the body of the prince lay. Addressing the dead son, she cried

"My sweet prattling child, why are you lying asleep in this forest? Without thee, I am lonely, how shall I remain alive now? You did not stay without me, and I fondled you day after day. Forgetting all these happy days, why are you now lying here in this forest? Hitherto I felt I was happy, you have removed that fond illusion of mine. Why have you left me, unfortunate woman that I am? It is not meet that you should give a slip to your mother thus. Oh! sweet darling boy of mine, how ever shall I forget thee?

Get up my dear child! let us go home, they must all be waiting for us. It does not behove you to take offence and lie down thus. Oh who will now address me as "mother!", who will fulfil my hopes? Why have you left me in this state of despair, unfortunate woman that I am?"

AKHO (V S 1671-1730)

We now approach a vigorous and powerful writer whose works, though not poetic in the strict sense of the word, possess a philosophy which very frequently covers the regions of poetry of a sublime order.

True, most of his *chhappās* are *cryptic* aphorisms pregnant with metaphysical thought but his works, like *Akhegilā* for instance, possess a rare admixture of philosophical depth and poetic sublimity, in which Akho is unrivalled. We must content ourselves with some select specimens —

Akho begins his *11h pta* with the statement that he, a mere non-existent self, projects in this work the representation of a mere phantasm of words, of his spiritual absorption into *Brahma*, and the joy he drinks therefrom —

अणउतो अखो अघ्यारोप करे ते कथा निज आनन्दनी.

The poem, after passing through various intricacies of *Uddata* philosophy, concludes by giving full expression to this joy,—joy in the attainment of the goal, viz. absorption in *Brahma* —

(1)

अभिनवो आनन्द आज अगोचर गोचर हउ ए ।

परपंचपार महाराज ते पूरण मग स्तउं ए ॥

× × × ×

× × × ×

ह्ये चैतन्यचनराय जन्यमां सोदामणो ए ।

ते नाये वाणी मांल ते नहि विराट ने वामणो ए ॥

× × × ×

× × × ×

ए जाग्ये जाण जंजाल यथार्थ ज्यम त्यम थयुं ए ।

जिहां कर्म न लागे वाळ सभर भराह ते रहुं ए ॥

तिहां हउं मन छेडीन जइ चैतन्य सभर भयुं ए ।

नहि को दाता दीन तन्मय सहजे सज थयुं ए ॥

प्रगयां कोटि वन्द्याण आवापर निगदये रहु ए ।

सदा सशोदित भाण उदे अस्त वारण गयुं ए ॥

वहे अखो आनन्द अतुमवने छेदेवा तणो ए ।

एहवो पूरण परमानन्द नित्य सराहुं अति घणो ए ॥

‘What unknown bliss is mine to-day’ I grasp the grasp-defying thing—Praise be to the Perfect *Brahma*, the one Great Lord who

stands transcendent far beyond this phenomenal world. The permanent Living Soul shines of His own accord in the expanse of Nothingness. He cannot be described in speech, He is neither Universe-filling large nor dwarflike small. Knowing Him all false appearances melt away, He stands in His real nature. Neither Karma nor Time affects Him. He fills the Universe brimful. Therein the mind of man lies absorbed, united with the Supreme Life in full measure. There is no giver or receiver automatically. He gets into the union of identity. Myriadful bliss is born now, self and non-self vanishing now, He stands the sole Remainer. He is the ever risen Sun, the cause of rising and setting gone. Akho relates this joy of knowing Him. I praise Him, who is Perfect Joy.

In a distinct but distinct manner these lines remind one of Wordsworth's well known lines in his *Poet's Corner*, which may be briefly quoted here—

- Such was the Boy—but for the growing youth
 What soul was his, when from the naked top
 Of some bold headland he beheld the sun
 Rise up, and bathe the world in light! He looked—
 Ocean and earth, the solid frame of earth
 And ocean's liquid mass, in gladness lay
 Beneath him far and wide the clouds were touched,
 And in their silent faces could he read
 Unutterable love. Sound needed none
 Nor any voice of joy, his spirit drank
 The speech— sensation, soul and form,
 All melts into him \ \ \
- \ \ \ \ \ \
- \ \ \ \ \ \
- \ \ \ \ \ \
- In such access of mind, in such high hour
 Of visitation from the living God,
 Thought was not, in enjoyment it expired

Verily, in the foregoing description of his अभिनव आनन्द we can picture Akho standing on the naked top of a bold headland,—the

headland of spiritual exaltation, and witnessing beneath him the ocean of Heavenly Light, wherein sensation, soul and form (मान, ज्ञान and ज्ञेय) all melt into him, when he needs not thought, in enjoyment it expires.

Akko, in one place, speaks of the *spirit* the Universal Soul, pervading the visible world and likens it to the Moon flooding with her light forest, glade, and palacesomes, even so, he says, the Spirit manifests itself in the cave of man's heart —

उदय उजाळो दे जेम चंद्रमा जी,
किरण तेदनां पसरे वन, वीधी, मंदमां जी,⁴⁸
तेम सरयो आत्म भासे कीट इन्द्रमां जी,
पहनो प्रगळो हृदया-कन्द्रमां जी.

Athe-Gitā, XII-I.

This description may well be placed side by side with Wordsworth's, in the above extract, when he shows the rising sun bathing the world in light.

(2)

I now select a different specimen from *Athe-gitā* itself, wherein the dry stream of ज्ञान is converted into a living flood of भक्ति. This side-current is generated by what is known as सर्वोत्तमभाव, the sense of the presence of *Ātmā* (=Brahma) in every individual.

ते हरि हरि देखे सकळमां जेदने जीव जीव करी देखतो ।
हरि जाणी हेत करे सकळमां पेहेलां जे उजेळतो ॥

(*Athe-gitā*, X-1)

This serves as a stepping-stone from the feeling of human brotherhood to devotion (भक्ति) towards God.

उजेळ न करे कोपनो आत्ममा विडछी रणो ।

(*Īad*, XI)

48. Kālidāsa's description of the rising moon (in *Vikramorvasi*) presents a similarly vivid and charming picture in a few strokes.

रविमावसते सतां क्रियायै सुषया तपसते वितृन् सुरांश्च ।
तमसां निशि मूर्छतां निद्रन्ये द्रष्टव्यानिदितात्मने नमस्ते ॥

(*Act III*, 6)

In the initial stage the vision of the devotee is directed to the phenomenal and human pageant as a manifold manifestation of the *One into Many*, the eternal dance play of Brahma getting into the forms of multifarious *dramatis personae*.

नित्य रास नारायण केरो देखे ते अनंत अपार ।

जिहां जेहवो तिहां तेहवो नारायण नरनार ॥

(Ibid, XI-5)

From this is but one step to a devotional attachment to God. Here is the passage describing this stage—

गद्गद कंठे गाते थके रोमांचित होये गात्र ।

हरे ओंछ बहू हेत हृदय प्रेम केरु ते पात्र ॥

खातो पीतो बोलतो देखतो ते सगळे राम ।

बेधु मन रहे तेहउं शिथिल संसारी काम ॥

नवनीत सरखुं हृदे कोमल वलुं न जाए हेत ।

आंख माहे अमृत भरियुं हरि भक्ति केरुं क्षेत्र ॥

इयम जार बहूंपी युवती तेउं मन रहे प्रीतमपास ।

अहर्निश रहे आलोचती भाइ एहउं मन हरिदास ॥

(*Alhe-gītā*, xi)

This passage breathes a feeling of भक्ति almost of the *Dasta* school type, fairly far removed from Śankara's Advaitic भक्ति.

In this connection it will be interesting to compare Narasinha Mehta's attitude towards ज्ञान and भक्ति with that of Akho. The ज्ञान poems of Narasinha are full of Advaitic ideas and expressions, and are all the same alive with poetic fire. Akho rarely blossoms into sublime poetry in style of thought and speech. To Narasinha the Brahman appears as to a poetic soul, and he cries निरख ने गगनमां कोण घुमी रहो ते ज हुं ते ज हुं शब्द बोले ! The dry ज्ञान of सोइहम् ("I am he", or the *An al Hak* of the Sufis) sufficeth not, he sees Him moving in the expanse of the firmament and hears Him sing "I am He". Narasinha speaks of Brahma as showing His charms to Brahma Himself (ब्रह्म लटकां करे ब्रह्म पासे), in poetic style, where Akho has the dry expression आप केरुं रूप भाप वयाणे जी. This is due to the fact that while Narasinha's भक्ति represents the worship of सगुण ईश्वर Akho

has his face turned more towards the निर्गुण phase of Brahma, and his भक्ति is rooted in the idea that ज्ञान itself amounts to भक्ति, for you know and you must love. Narasimha like the shepherd damsels of Gokula was not satisfied with the ज्ञान preached to them by Uddhava. To Narasimha as to these Gopis the diffuse moonshine was not enough (note, please, it was welcome, but not enough). He and the Gopis were craving (not crying) for the moon. It was not merely a longing for something afar from the sphere of their sorrows. But Brahma or ईश्वरा (Krishna) was to him the object of his प्रेमभक्ति (devotion of love). He was such as he could catch and imprison in his heart and secure by the inextinguishable thread of love (प्रेमना तंतमां संतं झाले), the One who was अकल अविनाशी ए नय ज जाए कळयो, अरथउरथ नी मांदि महाले, Narasimha's Lord who pervaded all space, could be caught and held by devotion based on love.⁴⁹ This attitude can be understood if we note the different turn given to प्रेमभक्ति by Kavi Dnyâraam, the Gopis in one of his charming गुरवो's say to Uddhava

हमारा प्रभु सखे रे, हमारा तो एक सखे,
हमो रीसो चांदरणे रे, हमो रीसुं चन्द्र मळये;

the एक सखे (the centre where their love was to be localized) being their hearts.

And yet, from the angle of vision of ज्ञान the nature of God was incomprehensible (अकल अविनाशी ए नय ज जाए कळयो), and diffuse (अरथ उरथनी मांदि महाले, नरसैयाचो स्वामी सकल व्यापी रसो), it was only apprehensible by the intellect of man. He is like a woman's heart, elusive you know it least when you think you know it most, or, as the *Kenopanishad* tells us —

यस्यामृतं तस्य मृतं मृतं यस्य न पेद सः ।

अविज्ञातं विज्ञानतां विज्ञातमविज्ञानताम् ॥

In the case of a woman's heart age-long conventions of society operate, as the आवरण शक्ति of *Miyô* operates in the case of *Brahma*.

I have wandered far let us return to Akha and look at only one more specimen, a specimen of unique beauty and poetic sublimity

49. See *supra*, pp. 210-212.

(3)

બ્રજીતી બ્રજા તમારી અંગીકૃત સરસી અગી ।
તે મધ્ય પટ્ટિયું ધામ તમારુ ત્યારે રૂંધર મૂંને વિલસી ॥

જેમ કાચનુ મદિર રત્નું નીડ પીત શુભ્ર દયામયું ।
તે ઉપર તપ્પો મરજ જ્યારે ત્યારે વિચિત્ર રૂપ થયું ધામયું ॥
કેવન્ય મગજ તપે સદા માયા તે મદિર કાચ ।
રૂંધર નામ તે તેદયું જીર થઈ માન્યુ સાચ ॥
અધિદાન તે તમે રૂગામી તેણે એ ચાલ્યું જાય ।
અળગતો જીવ દુ દુ કરે પણ ભેદ ન પ્રીટે પ્રાય ॥

(Akhe gitī, XIX)

Strikingly enough one is reminded by these lines of Shelley's well known lines in *Adonais* —

'The One remains, the many change and pass
Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadows fly
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of Eternity,
Until Death tramples it to fragments'

Akh speaks of *Māyā*, the non-existent entity, when Brahman takes her to himself, His (Its) light enters her and then she revels as the Creative God. He says 'Take an effigy of glass of various colors, green, yellow, white and black, which assumes a variegated appearance when the sun shines on it, *Māyā* stands and on her the Absolute Brahman ever throws His (Its) radiance and then she becomes *Īśvara* (Creative God) and assuming the form of the individual soul, she appears as a reality. You Oh Lord, are the fundamental basis and source, and from you all this emanates and moves the *Jīva* (individual soul) exists not yet feels he is a separate entity and knows not the mystery of Brahman.

I give the purport of Akhe's lines in a field way, only to mark the points of similarity and difference between his and Shelley's conception and expressions. The striking similarity between the two

can only be explained by the consideration that certain ideas are common property of the human race in the thinking mind of man, and that God inspires different persons with the same light—the final source of poetic insight being God Himself. And yet, in this particular instance, the similarity in the details of the imagery strikes one as rare and inexplicable in a sense.

TULASI (V S 1732)*

How is a Rāyaksālī⁵¹ Brahmin? I possess a copy of his *Panditāśāstramētha* made from a Ms. in the possession of a Rāikya Brāhminna living at Nikol, a village 1½ miles from Ahmedabad. Here are some specimens from it:

(1)

FROM ADHYĀYA V

भष्टे कथं लक्ष्मण तुज बीरे हुं वनमां तरलोडी ।
इने तमारे शो गुण धाने हुं पूछं कर जोडी ॥ ३ ॥
एकलक्षी वनिता वन्य मूंकी लक्ष्मण कथम रेवाने ।
प्रांण जशे फाटीने मारे ते दुःख कथम सेवाने ॥ ४ ॥
मी पातक शो कौयो वेडां रामे राक्षस मायो ।

5). This is the diste given in the concluding stanza of the poem
संस्त सतरवतरीसामां पूरण कीयो चंप जी ।

दयन करीने लेवन कीधुं प्राचनमावा संध जी ॥ ७ ॥

आशु

संस्तसतरवतरीसामां वैशाखे सुभवार जी ।

प्रशोदगी रवियासरने दिन पूरण ओ तिहार जी ॥ १७ ॥

5). This caste has furnished a number of *Śāstris* and *Pariahs*, and is therefore known for the attachment of its members to Sanskrit literature and language so much so that as popular joke has it, when offering served dishes at the next day's dinners the servers of those dishes are called to shout the names of the courses in Sanskritized language e.g. *पूतमोमाम* for *पी* and *मूतम*, *दादुलि* for *जलेबी* and so forth. Any how, they have Sanskritized their caste name into Rāikya Brāhminna, and have a *Rasked Pardon* claiming antiquity for their name and history.

बैश्वानरમાં નાંહી તાહ્યો ત્યાંથી દેહ ઝગાયો ॥ ૬ ॥
 જો મરતી તો સુલિળી થાતી જીવ્યે થયો સંતાપ ।
 દુષ પોતાનું કેને કૈયે મારું પોતે પાપ ॥ ૬ ॥
 લક્ષ્મણ જૈ રાઘવને કેજો મહું કહું મૂપાલ ।
 વેદપુરાણ તળી ગત્ય ચાલ્યા ટાલીને જંજાલ ॥ ૮ ॥
 લક્ષ્મણ ત્યે રાહી વન મધ્યે સ્વરૂપણ જ્યાં આવ્યા ।
 જમ રાત્રે બાંધવ મિત્રીને ત્યમ મારે મન માઘ્યા ॥ ૧૧ ॥
 આજ તમે મૂકીને જાશો ત્યાર પડી શું થાશે ।
 રાક્ષસ વાઘ વરુ વન્ય જ્ઞાણા તે મને મારી લાશે ॥ ૧૨ ॥
 કૌશલ્યાસુતને જે કેજો એ સંદેશો વીર ।
 શો અપરાધ હતો રઘુનંદન નાર્યે તજી વન્ય ધીર ॥ ૧૩ ॥
 સુલિયા થાજો નિર્મલ રેજો રહે ધરો મન્ય તાપ ।
 શાંક તમારો વાંચ નધી મને પીઢે મારાં પાપ ॥ ૧૪ ॥
 મન માઈ છે ચરણે તારે ક્ષણ ન અટકું થાય ।
 મુકી ચરણસરોરુદ તાઈ કેને વલગું થાય ॥ ૧૫ ॥
 પુન્યમહંદ્રતણે આકાર મુલ્ય શોમે રઘુવીર ।
 તે દર્શન તે દુર્લભ વીરું રાઘવ શાંમ શરીર ॥ ૧૬ ॥

The language of this is evidently classical and elegant, as coming from a Purit. The ideas may, with interest, be compared with those in Sita's message to Rāma in *Raghuvamśa*, *Sarga XIV*, or with that in *Vālmiki's Rāmāyana*. The line *વેદપુરાણ તળી ગત્ય ચાલ્યા ટાલીને જંજાલ* is a sarcastic trunt, to be contrasted with the direct, simple, and open hearted trunt in *Raghuvamśa XII*, St 61.

વાઘ્યસ્ત્વયા મદ્વચનાત્સ રાજા વદ્મની વિશુદ્ધામપિ યત્તમધમ્ ।
 માં લોકનાદ્યવળાદદાસીઃ શ્રુતસ્ય કિં તત્તદ્દર્શં દુરલભ ॥

Both have their own value and fitting power

(૨)

FROM ADHYĀYĪ 111

સાંન કરી મંધર્વને તર વીણા હીંચી પાંચ્ય ।
 નૃત્ય કારણ કયા સાંપ્રત વેપ ચતુર સુજાણ ॥ ૬૪ ॥

राग पंचम तांत्य साधन मादळ तान समान ।
 वृष्ण आगत्य रही ऊभी मन्य घरी भगवान् ॥ ६५ ॥
 ऋषभ ने गांधार मध्यम पद्म पंचत जेह ।
 पंचमूर्छा (?) पंचम छट्ठी सातमो वळि निषध (निषाद) साभ्यो तेह ॥ ६६ ॥
 मूर्छना एरवीस तेनी तानपुरित गान ।
 काकळि कडरव करे संतोषवा भगवान् ॥ ६७ ॥
 हाव भाव कटाक्ष हरिगुणगान् फुदहीफेर ।
 ताळ यीणा चरणनपुर वजाही ह्ये शेर ॥ ६८ ॥
 नाद कोकिल वदे जाण्ये रूपनो नहि पार ।
 अंग शोभे अतिमला जे तन शजिया शणगार ॥ ६९ ॥

The poet incidentally discloses in this passage rare and remarkable familiarity with the minute technicalities of the art and science of music: the reference to काकळी is really significant in this direction. The idea conveyed in मादळ तान समान i. e. the agreement between the beating of the *mridanga* and the play on notes (तान) really marks a true artist's appreciation of the preserving of the time value along with the singing and play on notes

(3)

FROM ADHYĀYA XVIII

नगर मध्ये संध्यां जे सवे जारव वीर ।
 ठाम्य ठाम्य गोप्य चढी जुए बहु नार्य शंभरीर ॥ १३ ॥
 मस्तक मुगुट सोदांमणो सगमगे दिनकर उपोत्प ।
 मेघघटामां बीजली जम निशामां खयोत ॥ १४ ॥
 पत्तेने कुंडळ जळइळे मणिपद राजित छेह ।
 कंठ कौस्तुभ ओपतो बहु तेज शोभे जेह ॥ १५ ॥

The simile in the second half of stanza 14 is really striking in its natural charm, and classical stamp. I remember to have heard this line in a different setting in my childhood from the mouth of our family Śāstrī who used to read this poem before our family audience. It ran thus—

निशाकाले मळइळे ज्यम टपामां खयोत ॥

Whether it was in the present context or elsewhere (perhaps describing the shining of swords in the midst of a battle) I do not recollect "2

Premānanda.

(V S 1692 to 1790)

is, by almost unanimous acceptance amongst students of Gujarātī literature, regarded as a masterly writer of objective poetry, brilliant, powerful, and versatile. His writings are voluminous and it is difficult to cull out specimens from all the various types adopted by him. He is most popularly known as the poet who wrote *Nalādhyaṇa*, *Olhā harana*, and several other *dhyaṇas* based on Purāṇic stories, non-Purāṇic poems like *Narsinha Mehtā nā Māmerā* and poems dealing with other incidents in the life of *Narsinha Mehtā*. It is true that

52. The same family Śāstri told us an amusing anecdote about this poet, who belonged to his caste and who had heard the story from persons who got it by tradition handed by kinsfolk. The poet was reading his *Aśvamedha* before the audience of his village-men at their special request for a vernacular work, as they were satiated with Sanskrit Purāṇa recitations at his hands. Half a dozen friends of the poet, his caste-men, happened to give a surprise visit at this recitation in Gujarātī. He welcomed the interruption, received the friends warmly, and gave them seats on either side of himself. Being permitted and requested by the guests to continue the *Kathā*, the poet started the occasion was that of Rāma in the performance of his *Aśvamedha*, seated in the centre surrounded on each side by the monkey soldiers and generals. The poet took up the thread of the description of this assembly and sang

आगळ पाळळ वानर बेग वचमां खुपति राम ।

While repeating this he pointed with his hand the guests on each side, when saying आगळ पाळळ वानर, and pointed his finger at himself when uttering the words वचमां खुपति राम. The whole assembly, including the guests, burst into a merry laughter. The poet in explaining this practical joke, said "Look here, friends! These village people said to me we are tired of sweet dishes like Sanskrit, let us have a taste of the sour hot tasting curries (उद्य) of the vernacular. So, brethren, you never came to my treat of Sanskrit *Amrit*, and now come when I am serving them poor उद्य of the Prakrit. What can you be, then, but monkeys?"

he has walked in the footsteps of his predecessors and borrowed, occasionally wholesale, or copied from the *dhhyānas* written by Viśva nātha Janī, Nākara, and Bhālaṇa ²³ But a comparative glance at the originals and copies will show that Premānanda imparted to his compositions original charm and power. There is no room for giving copious extracts from his writings, and I must content myself with giving only one specimen from a comparatively less known *dhhyāna* of his, which, however, possesses real poetic value as an objective composition. It relates to the love springing in the heart of Viśhayā at the sight of her hitherto unseen lover, Chandrahāsa. The latter, arrived as an utter stranger, is sleeping in a park under a mango tree on the bank of a lake, the noble steed which carried the hero being tethered close by the sleeping knight, and Viśhayā, coming to the spot during one of her daily visits of pleasure with her female friends, suddenly sees the novel sight. She has stymed away far from her friends, the only living being present is the horse close by, Chandra hāsa lying asleep on the ground. She addresses the horse thus —

रखे चतुर ठुरी कहैतो स्वामीने, जागरो तो छु पाये ?
 निद्रावशपी केम ऊठाइ ? पछे छुं कहैवाये ?
 हे अज ! तूं अति अतुपम, रहारं रुई वान,
 मागी रे सेउछुं हुं मानिनी, रखे करतो स्वामीने जाण.
 रहारे रत्नजडित मुख म्होरहो उदयाचउ ऊयो भाण;
 पैगदां त्हारं परम मनोहर, रत्नजडित पलाण.
 पछुं कहैती चाली चतुरा चचउ नयणे जोय—
 रखे सखी सदियर आपणी छुयो रहिने जोय.

The girl, proud by birth and breeding, here assumes the role of a supplicant, and hence her words मागी रे सेउछु मानिनी ("Proud maiden, I, beseech you now—"pray do not give me away to your Master"),—

53 Premānanda's borrowings from his predecessors may be compared with similar borrowings by Shakespeare. However, Premānanda's copy is too often almost verbatim reproduction though he has added his own charm and art. This feature indicates no detriment to Premānanda as an original poet.

especially the term માનિની is full of significance. Just as a needy supplicant begins by praising the person from whom he seeks a favour, Vishayā describes in words of praise the rich caparison of the horse. The comparison of the jewel bedecked head stall (મ્હોરડો) to the sun rise in the East is as original as it is charming. The poet shows a close acquaintance with human nature in thus prefixing words of praise before coming to the prayer itself. The picture presented in one stroke, ચંચલ નયને જોય, is a clever one and reminds one of the line in Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* चरितविलोमितदसदिग्या describing Rādhā's behaviour in a different set of circumstances: in either case the feelings of curiosity, secrecy, caution, rush of desire, are condensed in a single touch of word painting.

The tell tale jingle of the maiden's anklets and other ornaments being an item of danger, Vishayā adopts the trick which nature teaches every maiden

નેપુર, શાંસર, અળવટ, ચીંલિયા, એ સોનીએ આભરણ ઘડિયા;
પ્રથમ વાજતા રૂઢો ઢાલતાં, આજ શુદ્ધ થઈ નીવડિયા.

A woman's vanity made the wearing of such ornaments a sweet pleasure at one time, these very things were a source of trouble,—here is a slight but an artist's touch in insinuating the traits of woman nature. She had her remedy to hand

હેતું જરી મન દટ જરી ચાલી, શાંસર ઝંચા ચડારી,
મમેં ભરતી રગ, ડયમ જલમાં થગ, એમ શ્યામા સમીપ આવી.

This is a picture possessing the charm of truth to nature. If she lost self-control through the impatience of a maiden's curiosity, a slight mistake made would betray her, hence મન દટ જરી ચાલી she moved with a firm hold on her mind, at first moving the anklets higher up on the feet to keep them fixed. And yet any hasty movement would slip them down, hence મમેં ભરતી રગ, she took cautious and slow steps, this pose and motion are portrayed in a very apt simile, they are likened to the cautious strutting of the stork in shallow waters, taking slow steps that would not frighten away the small fish which the bird wishes to catch as its prey.

She comes near Chandrahâsa and takes her seat. But she is afraid to be too near, because

मारो न्नास लागे साधु जागे ते चिन्ता चित्तां पेटी.

She was afraid lest, if she bent her face too close, her very breath should wake him up. After this quiet and secret movement and postures, duly painted by the poet in firm colours, we are presented with a gentle turn in the maid's feelings—the mastery of curiosity over caution. And yet before she takes a rash step she betrays her fear of her surroundings

रखे को देखे सहिपर मुख पेरे,—एम हट राखी भाटी,
पछी पिछोही परी करीने जोपुं वदन ऊघाटी.

She looks askance, lest some one should be looking, lest her female friends should be peeping, and then, assured of her solitude, she lifts the scarf from the hero's face. The interval between the maid's turning her face from the hero lest some one should be watching her and her uncovering his face must have been short, very short. And the poet's pen has done here, what the painter's brush could not possibly have done, the depicting of the two actions in quick succession

The scarf lifted, the face of the hero visible now, the maiden's venture is rewarded with a sight of beauty and joy which the poet describes in a familiar simile, familiar yet possessing peculiar freshness here

आनाथे अब अळगु पाए, चन्द्रबिम्ब दीसे जे'वुं,
त्यम पिछोही परी कपि मुख कुण्डिदुंवरतं तेवुं.

When the scarf was removed, the face of the prince of Kulinda shone as the moon shines in the sky when the cloud that hid it moves away—this sight is likened to the moon that with delight looks round when the heavens are bare—a simple but a charming touch of the poet's pen.

I shall feel amply rewarded if this little criticism of mine removes the bank of clouds spread by a verse critics over the face of this moon of Gujarati poetry, Premānanda

You will have seen that Premānanda has a command over graceful and classical diction and originality, vivacity and power of style. This will be borne out, not by this single specimen, but by a study of his other works which are voluminous and cover a fairly large field of subjects and treatment.

If, after this appreciation by me of Premānand, I refrain from accepting as genuine several works attributed to him by a coterie of blind admirers, I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I have in view the three plays published as Premānanda's handiwork, as also some long poems like *Draupadiharana*. I shall not trouble you with a detailed statement of the grounds on which I base my conclusions in this matter, for I have already published, in Gujarātī, a lengthy essay examining the question of the genuineness of these works. However, I may indicate a few points for consideration.

(a) Dramatic works were unknown in Gujarātī literature before Premānanda's time and long after him, dramatic literature arose only during the latter half of the nineteenth century, i. e. over a century after Premānanda's death. It is incredible that such literature should arise out of darkness and disappear in darkness thereafter, leaving no other trace of such works in subsequent literature.

(b) Similarly dramatic literature presupposes the existence of the stage. This institution, the stage, did not exist in Gujarāt before or long after Premānanda, nor during Premānanda's time. It is incredible then that a set of plays should have been composed under such conditions.

(c) Premānanda's son, Vallabha, in his *Kuntī prasannāhhyāna* (a poem) tries to prove Premānanda's supremacy over the Hindi poet, Chanda, and mentions the works composed by each. Yet nowhere does he refer to his father's dramatic compositions as marking him out as superior to Chanda. If the father had written them, the bragging son would have boasted of them and cried from the house-tops in praise of them.

(d) The original Mss. of these plays have never been shown to any one, or traced anywhere.

Besides these there is a vast volume of internal evidence which goes against the genuineness of these plays. I shall mention only three glaring instances—

- (I) गुर्जराणां मृतं शत्रुम्—this phrase is introduced at p. 5 of *Pāñchālī-prasammākhyaṇa* (one of the plays in question). Now this phrase has a history which traces it to the spirit of rivalry and jealousy between Gujarātis and Deccanis, which came into being during the sway of the Gaekwāds in Baroda several years after Premānanda. If, then, it appears in a play attributed to Premānanda, one would naturally suspect that the work is not genuine.

- (II) (1) दुग्धतो दग्धो बालो दधि पुनः प्लवृत्य पिबति ।

(*Roshadarśikā Satyabhāmākhyaṇa*, page 258)

- (2) यस्य अन्नं तस्य पुण्यं दग्धकारस्य घूमकः ।

(*Roshadarśikā Satyabhāmākhyaṇa*, page 259)

These two Sanskrit sayings are really the concoctions of Vṛjālal Kālidas S'āstri who gives them in his work, *Utsarga mālā*, first published in 1870 A. D., with the *special object* of proving (what is absurd) that all Gujarātī sentences are the mis-shapen changes out of original Sanskrit sentences. In order to help this theory of his, he resorts to bad Sanskrit, e. g. त (in दुग्धत) —which should really be replaced by the instrumental termination, त being concocted in order to present an original of गुग्ध घोरं पुनः for अपि in order to give the original of पण (Guj.), पुनः does not bear the sense of अपि. दधि is brought in to represent गुग्ध दधि, but in doing so, the S'āstri runs into the absurdity of making it an object of drinking (पिबति), the real source of the error being that the Gujarātī proverb has दध्म which, being liquid, can be drunk. He could

have said *મથયતિ*, but his theory required the formation *પિચતિ* to correspond to *પીણે* (Guj), and he again forgets the absurdity seen in the fact that milk being liquid and *દધિ* being not such, there would be no cause for misapprehension which would really occur if *છાચ* were the article

The whole argument will be clear when I say that the Gujarātī saying is *દૂધનો દાઢ્યો છાચ ફૂકીને પીએ* (A man scorched by hot milk will drink whey after blowing on it to cool it) This saying is turned by the Śāstrī into *દૂધપી દાઢ્યો ચાલ દહિં પળ ફૂકીને પીએ છે*, the changes, *પી* and *પળ* being intentionally introduced to prove his theory.

In (2) which is given as the original of *અજ દેહેં શુણ્ય, રાખનારાને ધૂમાડો*, the Śāstrī gives *રખકાર* to correspond to Guj *રંધવારી* and in doing so forgets that the correct Skt would be *રખનકાર*.

The conclusion is irresistible that the author of this play must have taken these sayings from *Utsarga-māla*, and must therefore be one who lived after 1870 A D (the year of the publication of *Utsargamāla*)

III *एक काररे अनेक पक्षी पड़े* is a proverb used in *Roshadars'akā* p. 161 This is almost an exact reflection of the English saying "To kill two birds with one stone" As a matter of fact the proverb given in the play is never known to Gujarātī life and literature Proverbs are generally a sort of crystallized image of the life, social institutions, habits etc of a people The proverb in question is certainly against the life and atmosphere of Gujarātī people, with whom the practice of *shul'ār* and *shikār* life are a matter of ancient history As I have said elsewhere⁵⁴, when we shall find English proverbs corresponding to the Gujarātī ones—*તો દહાડા સામના તો એક દહાડો વહનો* or *સામ નકે સહેલા તો વઢુ નકે કહેલા* I shall be prepared to admit the genuineness of the proverb *एक काररे अनेक पक्षी पड़े*.

54 A lecture delivered before the *Broach Sahitya Sabha*, on 24th September 1911, and published in *Vasant* of Kartika V S 1968, see p. 445 thereof

I have given only these three items. There are numerous others, forming internal and external evidence, which must be left alone.

In fairness to the advocates of the genuineness of these plays, I must not omit the fact that they have tried their level best to refute the arguments advanced against the plays, but I can prove at any time that they are all irrelevant, hollow, and unsound. And, in case where they are driven into a corner, as in the case of item No. II above (the Sanskrit proverbs of Vrajalāl Śāstri), they resort as a last and forlorn hope to the plea that they may have been interpolations, who interpolate them and how, in the face of the fact that there were only single Mss (not shown to the public), they care not to consider.

Vallabha

(V S 1750 or thereabouts)

Premānanda left to his son, Vallabha, the task of eulogizing him and himself. We are not concerned with the wild boastings of the son especially about himself. I shall only consider his style and give one or two specimens and then pass on to other poets. Vallabha's style is vigorous and trenchant, often rugged and coarse to a degree. I shall pick out only two instances.

(1)

शर धीर साचा मान्या पंचपुत्र माहरा में,
मन बांझित अर्पतां तो बोहू ना पाओ पदे,
भारणा मे ध्यान ए सौ व्यर्थ अर्पवती गति,
हा ! छुं कहुं आज हने ? अंगो अंग ऊपदे !
महा महा कष्ट पेड़ी पुन पाएन मे कहुं
ते व्यर्थ हा ! निधे थपुं, छुं जहवाहुं जडे ?
कामना पूराय ना जो नया युग पुत्रपी तो,
थिक प्रभा ! थिक सभा ! कीर्ति शूरी ए वडे.

×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×

श्री गांपारी अणधारी चारीने बात कहेने,
दुर्योधन दुश्मन छु मरेने वेणे भारने ?

કોઈ શાસ લાગે નહિ અગરસ્ત્ર અંગ વ્યાપ્તે,
 પેરાવત દેસે નહિ કુંતી પ્રાણ ધારશે ?
 પ્રમાકર ડગે અને ક્ષાકલ્લું જલ રહે,
 મૃગજલ સત્ય ઠરે, શય સિંહ ઢારશે !
 વદાપિ ય બને જાણો, તથાપિ ન જીરે કુંતી,
 શકનાય જુરે નહિ, અગ્રિ દેહ મારશે.

(*Kuntī prasannāhhyāna*, stanzas 66 and 68)

These are a few of the stanzas describing the anger of Kuntī when her sons declare the impossibility of bringing Indra's elephant, Airāvata, down on to the earth, as was her keen desire. The words put into the mouth of Kuntī mark Vallabha's vigorous style.

His style is often, however, marred by the juxtaposition of fairly graceful words and rough, uncouth, and often senseless word sounds, e. g. here is a stanza from his description of the grand *Sabha* (palace) created by Maya

(2)

ચીતલ ને મંદ વાવ છંધી સોદે સદાપ,
 દુઃસ દિલ કેલં જાય, સમા શામા શોમેછે;
 લદના તરણ યાય, વાયાપથી વટ જાય,
 મનમાન્યું લેઈ વાય, અમા દામા ઓમેછે;
 બનેછે અજામી વામી વ્રજચારી મહાનામી,
 તવપીઠ નાંતે વામી, લમા નામા લોમેછે;
 જોગ જેની જેદ વસ્ત તેદ રથાં દીસે સમસ્ત,
 ચંદ મર્યં કેરો અસ્ત ક્ષમા ક્ષામા શોમેછે.

(*Kuntī-prasannāhhyāna*, st. 16)

The words put in *italic type* illustrate my point. The commenting editor interprets these in such an artificial manner that one wonders how he got into the secret mind of the poet and fished out these interpretations. One is really tempted to doubt the genuineness of the work in such circumstances. However, that would lead us into another controversy.

I am tempted to give an instance of Vallabha's power and peculiarity of description. Bhīma and Arjuna are coming down from *Scarga*, Airāvata with them, by the miraculous⁵⁵ bridge of arrows built by Arjuna by letting off thousands of arrows from his bow. The people below on the earth are watching this wonderful sight and the poet thus describes the situation —

(3)

तिष्ठ जेतया जगता पथ जेतया ते दद्या,
पाठकेसरी समान ददस्या पे वीर ते,
स्यारे जोनारा करेछे कल्पनाभो कल्प जेरी,
स्वल्प बही दासे कवि, उतरे सा वीर ते !

55 I must note here a strange coincidence. Vallabha in this poem of his, *Kuntī prasaṅgalāhrya*, introduces the miracle of Arjuna's sending a letter to Indra on the head of an arrow, discharged by him from his bow, and subsequently the building of a bridge of arrows sent up from his bow which furnished Bhīma and Arjuna with a passage from the Earth to *Scarga*. Now, a Marāṭhi poet, by name Ananta Kavi, has almost the same ideas developed in his poem, entitled *Gaja gauri vrata*. Thus —

- (a) *Gaja Gauri-vrata*, stanzas 17 to 20, describe Arjuna as fixing to the head of an arrow a letter addressed to Indra (asking him to give his elephant, Airāvata) and sends it off from his bow to *Scarga*, Brīhaspati reads it, and so forth.
- (b) In stanzas 25 to 78, Arjuna is described as having discharged a number of arrows between the Earth and *Scarga* by which Bhīma went up to Indra's abode.

(Vallabha has a *bridge* of arrows instead of a roadway)

In (a) Vallabha has varied the incident by saying that Indra sent his reply back on the same arrow head, while Ananta Kavi has a messenger sent by Indra.

Ananta Kavi flourished in Śaka year 1645 (= V S 1779-80). Now, the question is, how did these striking coincidences happen? The *Mahābhārata* does not contain these incidents of a message on the arrow head, a bridge of arrows, etc. *Vraṭarāja* contains *Hastī Gauri-vrata*, but the account is materially different. Vallabha and Ananta Kavi were more or less contemporaries. However, there is not much likelihood of the Marāṭhi poet having borrowed from Vallabha. It is possible that both had some basis in oral traditions which they worked upon in their own way.

કોઈ કહે શુક્ર શનિ, કોઈ કહે સોમસૂર્ય !
 કોઈ કહે ધોમવ્યોમ ! કો કહે હંસ વીર છે !
 આદા ઉત્તરી શા આને આકાશમાં વસનારા !
 વેઈ પેરે ગઈ ઘરા ધારતી વે શિર છે !

(*Kuntī prasannākhyaṇa*, st 190)

Of course, the fanciful comparisons given here disclose an absurdity which the poet seems to ignore

Ratneśvara

Ratneśvara was a contemporary and a pupil of Premānanda. He was particularly learned in Sanskrit lore, which is evident in the classical style and language of his works. A few examples will suffice

(1)

હુ તો જીલું દોરી હીરની હીંદોળા રે માંછ,
 ફરતાં વરવે રે પદ્મતાં; જીલતાં ન સોદાય,
 સહી શ્રાવણ માંછ સોદામણો.

(માલિનીટત્ત)

છળ્ય ઘન ! ધ્રુજ ઘણી, વર્ષતુ શાશ્વ પાળી,
 ઘણ ફજ ધિર રહે ને, છુગની ઘાત વહે ને;
 મધુપુર પર્વે આગ્યો, શા સમાચાર ડાખ્યો ?
 મધુરો મુરલો-મીઠો છુગ્ગની ક્યાં ય દીઠો ?

Here is Rādhā trying in vain to seek comfort in the movement of her luxurious swing, which, however, gives no comfort (જીલતાં ન સોદાય), and addressing the rain-cloud of the month of Śrāvaṇa appealingly asking the cloud to stop raining a while so that he may give her the news of the sweet-flute-playing Kṛṣṇa, who is away in Mādhupura (Mathurā). The original would suffer by an attempt at translation. We may only remark here that this stanza may well stand comparison with Kālidāsa's poetic creations in elegance of style and grace of composition. One is reminded of Kālidāsa's *Purūṇavasa*, addressing the animals etc., asking for news about "Urviśī," especially the line

“મધુકર મહિતાશ્યા. ઇંત સમ્યાઃ પ્રટતિમ્ ।

comes uppermost in one's mind. The lines also remind us of the picture presented in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* where the heroine is depicted as looking up at the Cloud-Messenger before he delivers the message from her husband.

(2)

विरदविकळ रोती, चीरद्यं नीर द्योती;
अटण नयन दीसे, आस्य जोती अरीसे.

In these lines Rādhā is pictured looking into the glass at her own face and finding her eyes red with weeping, and wiping her tears with the end of her garment, a simple but charming picture drawn by a poet's master-hand. The above extracts are taken from "*Krishna-Viraha-nd Diddasa Mahinā*" (*Prāchīna Kāvya Sudhā*, Part I, p. 116 and p. 110 edited by Chhaganlal Vidyārām Rāvala)

[Note In extract (2) Mr Chhaganlal has a wrong reading अंसु *Bṛīhat Kāvya Dohana*, Vol. VI, p. 803 has आस, which really stands for आस्य.]

(3)

ए समे सउ गृहनी दासी कारन बीजां होते जी ।
नंदतणी गृहिणी यशोरा दधिमंधन करती पोते जी ॥ २ ॥
परपट्टळ अमूलक पृथुपटि कटितट ताणी बांध्युं जी ।
कटितटयुं अटकी रेवा कटिमेसटा साथे सांध्युं जी ॥ ४ ॥
छतने जेहे पय उभरातां सरता चुचगुग जाय जी ।
छंदरी केरी गोमे जगुटी कुचतटी पंचन (?चंपन) थाय जी ॥ ६ ॥
नेतर ताण्ये श्रम पाण्या कर, कंजण चंचळ होय जी ।
शशिमंदळ सरसा मुख मध्ये हुंदळ दलके दोय जी । ६ ॥
खेदतणा कण मुख पय्य युगता युगता सम मन हरते जी ।
छटा केश घने वही पाळती मालति मंधन करते जी ॥ ७ ॥
तेवामां स्तनपान करेवा जननीने भगवान जी ।
साही रक्षा दधिमंधन करतां मंधनदंड निधान जी ॥ ८ ॥
ना माता मुजने घररावो भूकी दधिमंधान जी ।
वारंता विनता आर्तदे करारती स्तनपान जी ॥ ९ ॥

उद्यंगे छेई घबरये जेहे स्तन पय वरये जी ।

श्याम तणुं स्तनपान करंतां हास्यसहित मुख निरखे जी ॥ १० ॥

(*Daśama Śānīha, Adhyāya IX*)

This extract from Ratneśvara's '*Daśama Śānīha*' gives a charming picture of Yaśodā busy at the process of churning curds, a picture so true to life and drawn in simple but elegant words. This picture receives a fresh charm when the child Krishna is introduced as interrupting the churning process, asking to be nursed at Yaśodā's bosom, and Yaśodā taking him in her lap suckling the child lovingly and gazing on his sweet face with a tender smile on her lips

(4)

दाढ

पुण्य छन्दावन माघव वजाहंता वंश ।

गोप निज गुणगान करता सहित बलभद्र अंश ॥ ४ ॥

पशु सह आगळ करी वनमां प्रवेश्या श्याम ।

कुसुम आकर विपिन सर विहार करवा काम ॥ ५ ॥

जे वन विखे महिमाय कळ स्वर घमर गुंजन धाय ।

मृग मनोहर पक्षी बोले सबळ शीतल वाय ॥ ६ ॥

महत मनसुं अमलजलधृत सरोवर सुस्पर्श ।

कमलकुलिका गंध छेतो समीरण बहे हर्ष ॥ ७ ॥

एहडुं वन देखी करी भगवानजी निरधार ।

गोपसुं रमजा ते विले मन घरे जगदाधार ॥ ८ ॥

अरण पटव तणी शोभा कळ कुसुमनो भार ।

ते भारपी नमती शीघ्रा (शाखा) यहविये अडकी सार ॥ ९ ॥

(*Daśama Śānīha, Adhyāya XV*)

This piece presents a vivid and powerful description of the forest in its details and young Krishna playing there with his shepherd comrades.

Pritama

: (A. D. 1730 = V. S. 1786)

I shall give only one illustration from this poet's work

हरिनो मारग छे शरानो, नहिं कापरतुं वाम जो ने,
 परपम पहेछं मस्तक मूकी वळती लेबुं नाम जो ने.
 छत त्रित द्वारा शीप छमपें ते पामे रस पीया जो ने,
 निधु मध्ये मोती लेया मोहिं पडया मरजीया जो ने.
 मरण आगळे ते भरे मूठी, दिलनी दुःखा वामे जो ने;
 तीरे उभो जुवे तमाशो ते कोही नव पामे जो ने.
 प्रेमपंथ पावकनी ज्याळा, भाळी पाळा भागे जो ने,
 मोहिं पडया ते महा छल माणे, देखणद्वारा दाझे जो ने.
 माया साटे मोयी वस्तु सांपडवी नहिं स्हेळ जो ने;
 महापद पाप्म्या ते मरजीया मूकी मननी मेळ जो ने.
 राम भमलमां राता माता पूरा प्रेमी परते जो ने;
 प्रीतमना स्वामीनी लीळा ते रजनी दन नरते जो ने.

This religious poem is marked by an originality of fervour, directness of expression and vigour of style. The word मरजीया which has baffled several scholars in determining its exact sense is explained here clearly, but unconsciously. The line तीरे उभो जुवे तमाशो ते कोही नव पामे जोने reminds one of Hafiz's celebrated line *Kujā dānand hīl : md subuk-bdān : sūshhī*.

Revāsankara (of unknown date)

This poet was a Nāgari of Junagadh. The Nāgari community is known for its culture and refinement. These traits are visible in Revāsankara's works, especially in his series of *Chandrāvalī*. I give here a few specimens —

(1)

एत अकृत विभूत तन पारी अमृत वज्रत भंग,
 अकल, अरुण, सखत छर सेवे, अद्रिपता अभंग,

અદ્રિસતા અધંગને આળી, હમરુ, હાક, પિનાક છે પાળિ,
 રેવા-શિવ-શંકર શુભકારી, એક અવધૂત વિભૂત તન પારી;
 આંગળે આવી અડલ જગાવી, કીધો શિંગી શોર;
 નંદરાળી ગમરાળી ઘરમાં, ઘોપમાં વાયો હોર;
 ઘોપમાં વાયો હોર તે જડને, માતા મનમાં વિસ્મય ધરને,
 સતને લીપો હૃદય ટગાવી, આંગળે આવી અડલ જગાવી.

જશોદા:-

જશોદા જોગીરાજને નરહી ભાવભરી ભરપૂર:-
 હ્યો મિથા, રથા કરો સતને, દટ્ટિ લાગે, રહો દૂર;
 દટ્ટિ લાગે, રહો દૂર શિવમ્બર, પ્હેરો તો આયું પટ અંબર;
 દર વત્તર હવે દેશે હરહી, જશોદા જોગીરાજને નરહી.

શિવજી:-

આય પુરુષ ને અડલ નિરંજન, જે અનંત અગિનાથ,
 રોમ રોમ મદ્દાળદ મમે તે પડલામાં લેઈ પાત,
 પડલામાં લેઈ પાત પડંગે અમંક જાળીને ઢલંગે,
 અંબુજ આંતે આંગતી અંતન, આય પુરુષ ને અડલ નિરંજન.

×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×

જશોમતી ઘીડું કાંઈ ન જાડું, સાડું કટું શુભ વેળ,
 અંતરમાં અગિલાપા દેવી નંદકુંવરને નેળ,
 નંદકુંવરને નેળ નિહાળી, પુત્ર પધરાય વચન પ્રતિપાળી;
 રૂપ જોઈ હૃદયમાં રાડું, જશોમતી ઘીડું કાંઈ ન જાડું.

(૨)

રાધા:-

કિતવ કહાનની કીરતિ વરતી યાજતી નથી ટગાર,
 ધમર પેરે પરપરનો મોઘો, વનિતા કાં નવ વાર ?
 વનિતા કાં નવ વાર ત્રિચારી ? આંદિં વેદે તું વણુ વધારી;
 વચલી વાત મ્હેં વેળમાં વરતી, કિતવ કહાનની કીરતિ કરતી.

×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×

चाळी चतुर चपळ चाळेधी सांते करवा खेळ,
 कर चामोकरनी पिचकारी, शिर केशरनी हेळ,
 शिर केशरनी हेळ मरीने जितवा जाती ईश-अरिने,
 अमजळ सबळ वढे धाळेधी, चाळी चतुर चपळ चाळेधी.

×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×

हुंदी कोमळ, कमळ, ने करणी, केतकी, ने कणवीर,
 समनसंगंधित सहज सुशीतळ सुंदर वाय समीर,
 सुंदर वाय समीर सुखकारी, वय (१ मज) वनितानो विरह विचारी;
 चंपे चालती चंपकरणी, हुंदी कोमळ, कमळ, ने करणी.

The sweetness of diction, its mellifluous flow, rich and yet natural
 alliterations springing out spontaneously mark out this poet as a poet
 of unpremeditated melody. The ideas, although taken from the
 traditional story of Krishna during his childhood and adolescence,
 are conveyed with a freshness and simplicity of charm. There is one
 conception which arrests our attention. रोम रोम वस्राण्ड ममे reminds
 one of a similar idea in Narasimha Mehta's line बोटे वस्राण्ड एरु
 रोम जेहु (pada, 49, at p 489 of Narasimha Mehta's poems, edited
 by the Gujarati Press). Perhaps the conception was a traditional
 heritage of poets and philosophers. None the less its sublimity does
 not suffer thereby.

SĀMĀLA (V S 1778 to 1821)

This poet has secured immortal fame more by the popularity of
 his style and its cryptic qualities, as also by the choice of subjects
 than by any high poetic merit. His *chhappas* are in the mouth of
 every one acquainted with the literature of the times. His stories
 are noted for the bold rebellion against social conventions. They
 possess a certain amount of vigour but they lack in poetic merit and
 artistic skill. His *Ingada Vichit* presents peculiar poetic fervor, and
 exceptional vigour and vivacity. Out of his copious works, I shall
 extract only a few passages—

(1)

When Râma asks Angada to go to Râvana to negotiate peaceful relations, the latter feels he is entrusted with a duty unworthy of a brave warrior and says:

हुकम होय इज्जरी केरो, सोपी नांहुं बाधो सायर,
हुकम होय इज्जरी फेरो, महा काम करवा हुं मायर;
हुकम होय इज्जरी केरो, जुदे जोर फरुं त्यां जाहर;
कासद काम सॉणुं कयम सुजने? छेक सुने कयम कीपो कायर?

St. 43

However, he obeys and undertakes the mission. He reaches Lankâ, Râvana's island and capital, and this is the poet's description of the sight that meets Angada's eyes.

नक्षत्र सरसी नार, सरेरनी ज्योतो सरसी !
चंपकवरणां चीर, पद्मनी पूरण परखी;
कनकमणिमय कुंभ, प्रेमदा परवरी पाणी;
आभूषण उपमा य इन्द्रकेरी इन्द्राणी;
ए लख जिह्वाए कवि कहे, भाट भात न शके भणी;
सामळ कहे हुं कयम कही शकुं लीळा लहर लंकातणी.

St. 58.

×	×	×	×
×	×	×	×

जळइळ ज्योत उजोत मणि जळइळता जडिया;
चिन्तामणि भर भीत, नवे ग्रह आरी अडिया;
परवाळां पर पोळ, स्फाटिक स्तंभ ठयांठे;
चूडामणि चोपास, कनक कोठार कयांठे;
अष्टमासिद्धि नव निधि रिधि, महालक्ष्मी वासे वशी;
शिवनी आपी समृद्धि ज्यां, त्यां उपमा करवी कशी ?

St. 62.

Angada proceeds into the city and reaching Râvana's palace, encounters the officer guarding the first gate; he has a spirited talk with him, in the course of which he says to the officer wrathfully:

कविवर कोवियो, जान टप टोवियो, ओपियो आपथी कोषभूंदी;
रण जंग रोवियो, चाँदिस चोवियो, भमर घटावियां, दृष्टि भूंदी,
सेल्यु, सेल्युं, रेल्युं नगरमां, देश बाधामां ते दासु दुंदो;
साहरे मन अल्या टकपति टकपति, मारे मन टंकपति एक भूंदी !

St 79

Angada fights and decapitates the officer, and proceeds, after thus severing the heads of several officers holding the various gates, he reaches Ravana's durlar place. The consternation caused by this monkey-chief's prowess in the city is thus described by the poet

पायो भंगद पीर, नीर ऊतार्या नरनां,
देवद कीयो दरवार, वध्याण शां कहुं दानरनां ?
पुरमां पण्यो पुकार, टेके हिम्मत छूटाणी,
वाये चाडी बात, टंक बाधी छूटाणी,
स्यां राटक बापी खळभळी, नासवा टागी नारियो;
कोइ ऊंची घटे अदारियो, बंध करे कोइ बारियो !

St 93

× × × ×
गद टंजा पेर पेर बात बाण्यत बाधी,
चटपुं रामतु सेन, टंक छूटाणी बाधी,
कहे भाप्यो कुंभकर्ज, कहे रायण रण रोळ्यो;
कहे इन्द्रजित अजित ते घांचड्यत घोळ्यो,
गुलवान पथं गलीरुचिये, टछ कसेट टोके छमो,
कहे ख्यो राम रायण परे, वल्हापात एयो पयो.

St 95

This will suffice. Further on the poem suffers in merit by its prolixity, irrelevancy, and other artistic defects. But the above extracts mark the characteristics of Sāmala's poetic style—free and natural flow of language, a comparatively cultured language disclosing familiarity with Sanskrit literature and yet a restraint which keeps the poet off from pedantic show. I am tempted to point out a small phrase which takes us back to Narasimha Mehta. I refer to the expression जळइळ ज्योन वयोत in st. 62 above, which, applied here to a mere

earthly feature in Lankā, pales before Narasinha Mehtā's sublime presentation of the characteristic of Brahma. जळइळ ज्योत उज्योत रवि कोटमां. And yet at the same time this unconscious borrowing pays an honest tribute to the genius of the *bhākta*-poet who sang several centuries before Sāmāla.

(2)

I cannot refrain from citing one stanza from *Angada-vishṭī* which runs in the vigorous and liting vein of Vallabha who was a contemporary and a bitter rival of Sāmāla.

प्रतिहारे दीपी गाळ, अंगदने ऊडी झाळ,
ऊठ्यो रयांपी ततकाळ, दावे दंत कर्दीने;
बेचारेक भरी काळ, कृतान्त सरीखो काळ,
अधिक करंतो आळ, घणी रीस घर्दीने;
सवापो गवायो वाळ, भलेचें तिलक भाळ;
बुद्धिनिधितणो वाळ बाइयो वडु वर्दीने;
पकळपो रयां प्रतिहार महोकम दीपो मार
कळुं के शी वार? डीपां पांच शिर मर्दीने.

St. 88.

Surely this is Vallabha all over, which shows that Vallabha had not the sole monopoly of this style of composition. Probably in those days such compositions were well known and open to many writers of verse.

I should like to present Sāmāla in another aspect, as a reviler of the fair sex and again the praiser, a paradox which is explained by his objective outlook on human nature, presenting the sides of the same problem,—wherein the views are very often put in the mouth of other characters. Here are two passages selected from *Sāmāla-ratna-mālā*—(*Br. Kāvya dōhana*, II, 1887 edition).

(3)

पदित केरी नार घुरखणुं भोजो माणे;
बुळवंतानी नार नीचने घुरप प्रमाणे;

જરવંતાની શુભતિ ઘાણોત્તર સાથ ઘડ્યે;
 નરપતિકેરી નાર ગમાર ગોટાણું ગંધે;
 શ્રરા કેરી જે હંદરી કાચરને કાવા દિયે;
 ચામલ સ્વભાવ શ્યામાતળો, શુદ્ધિદીપ તે વ્યમ દિયે !

(P. 526)

Now, look at this picture.

(4)

રામા રતનની છાણ, જાણ એ રંભા રુઝો;
 ધેરે સોઝ શણગાર, હાર કંઠે કર પૂરી;
 શોભે જલ્દહલ મેહ, દેહ કોમલ શુભ સાજી;
 શોભાકેરું સદન, વદન હથી રાત્રે રાજી;
 મદ મોજ કરણ વિક્રમ અને દરિશ્વન્દ્રની દારના,
 પંદિત ચતુર પુર પાટવી નૃપતિ મેદ, પણ નારના.
 જોવનમાં દે રંગ સંગણ દાદક તવની;
 યાલપણે કરી વાત મડાદે પીઠા મનની;
 હલ્લદુલમાં સમભાગ, રાગરુદે ગુણ ગાતો;
 ચતુરા ચિત્ત દરનાર, સાર શરમાં મદમાતી;
 ઘઝી હલ્લપણે સેવા કરે, દેહપાપો રિલદુલ ટલે;
 એ અંતકાલ અલ્લમી નર્હી, બહુ સ્નેહે સાથે વઝે.

(P. 529)

DHÎRO. (V. S 1809 to 1881)

This poet has bequeathed to Gujarâtî Literature a large amount of religious, philosophical and didactic poetry which possesses a charm of its own. His learning was limited in the sense of Sanskrît lore. But his acquired knowledge was admirable. The special form of metrical composition favoured by him which went by the name of "*Dhîrî-nâ pâlâ*," and is in recent times known by the more or less incorrect name of "*Dhîrî nî kîjî*," has sweet music and fluidity which no other form can present. I give two or three extracts from his poetry :—

(1)

- કામ કંપાવે રે માનવ પશુ પ્રાણીને,
તે કામ તો કંપે રે મ્હારા ગુરુજીને જાણીને. (ટેક) ૧.
- માંવળ જોડું અંગ લહે પળ નાસતો ઢોંઢે મનોજ;
એક મંત્ર મ્હારા ગુરુના મુલમાં તેને કામ કંપતો રોજ,
ધન્ય ધીર ધારી રે, વહ્નંધ્યો હું વાળીને. કામ૦ ૨.
- દ્વાદશ વર્ષ રણો હુ નિકટ, ક્રોધ ન આઢ્યો કાંઈ;
કેમ કરી કામ ક્રોધ જીત્યા ગુરુ, લોભ મોહાદિક સાંઈ;
નથી લલો એવો રે, વહું આજ તાળીને. કામ૦ ૩.
- મદમત્સરતું મૂઢ નહિં જ્યાં, પદ રિપુ તાવેદાર,
એવા તો એક ગુરુજી મ્હારા માન્યા આંલે જોયા નિરધાર,
છપ્યા બીજા કાને રે, આચા વહી આળીને. કામ૦ ૪.
- ધીર અમરવર સમરામરમાં મરિયા જોતાની માંય;
અગમનિગમની વાતો છુનાધી, આવજેવો કરવા કણું ત્યાંય,
પ્રારવ્ધને યોગે રે ધીરો હુને જાળીને. કામ૦ ૫.

(Guru Svarūpa, XXVIII)

(2)

- આનંદ ધાય હદે રે તુષ્ણા તો તુટે ત્યારે,
ગમે નહિં ઘેહીરે; પળ એડું ધડું ક્યારે? (ટેક) ૧.
- જ્યાં ચદ્ગતર મનની અતિ ભારી, તેમાં તુષ્ણાની મઢતી તાળ;
છ જળ સાહ્યકારી વને તેના, ત્યાં આનંદનાં શાં શલાળ ?
અઢગો રહે એ તો રે ગુણ કુંદને જ્યારે. આનંદ૦ ૨.
- એમ છતાં કદી આગલ પઢીને આનંદ કરતો જોર,
ત્યારે તો તુચ્છ દેલાતી તુષ્ણા, તુટી જાતો તર્હિ તોર,
પશ્ચાત્તાપ ધાતો રે, વગોઘ્યા મુંડી નારે. આનંદ૦ ૩.
- વંધ વિનાની પલાજ જેડી છે. નાક વિનાની નાર,
ચંદ્ર વિનાની રાત એ નિથે, તુચ્છ તુષ્ણા એવો નિરધાર;
આનંદ કેવો ઝંડો રે ! તાળી તુષ્ણાને પારે. આનંદ૦ ૪.
- એવો આનંદ સદ્ગુણી મઢતો, જે તુષ્ણાનું દાલે સ્વરૂપ;

तृष्णाकेरी नर भाटाई नभती आनंदराज पूरी दे वृष,
आनंदी धीर एरा रे मळे खुद विचारे.

आनंद० ९.

(*Trishnā Śarūpa*, XIX)

(3)

कादव मांदि कळियो रे मांय गदा मस्तानो,
कारभी धीसो पाडे रे, थाके त्यारे रदे छानो.

(टेक.) १.

तेराने कादयाने ज विचारे निर्वंठ दस्ती कोर;
तेनाधी तेव छं कारन थाए? धायं तो सवें कोर,
छे विचारनी घात ज रे, एरु मन करी मानो.

कादव० २.

तेम काम क्रोषरूपी घाटा कादयमां तारो देह इवी गयो जाण;
तेने पणा निर्वंठ क्यम वादे? एमो वाधी धागे वाण,
प्राण थाय पूरा रे, पावै ने न चडे व्दानो.

कादव० ३.

साबो शरीर कोरु होय तो वरे कादयानो उपाय;
ते तेना अंतरमां आवे तो, निकर व्हे गोरा छे त्याय,
धी पडी तेने रे? मळी आवे व्हे दानो.

कादव० ४.

म्यारा सद्गुरु जेवा जो देखे तो वीचज्यो वादो वरे काम;
देहवंत सवें देसाडी दे ते, व्हे छे कीमत एरु बदाम;
धीर जेवा समझे रे, समझी न रदे छानो.

कादव० ५.

(*Kāya Śarūpa*, XVI)

The above specimens will suffice to indicate Dhuro's method of handling his subject—sometimes plunging into it with a direct jump and yet not losing sight of the train of thought (as in specimens 1 and 2 above), and sometimes starting with an imagery sudden and at first unconnected with the issue before him, and then surprising the hearer with the point to be made by the poet (as in specimen 3 above). The poet's *Prasāngīkāt Uḍ'ī* is inferior in power and art, spinning out an idea with great prolixity and many truisms

कलित विगारा व्रजमंगला रे लोठ,	
माधवी ने माधती अनूप,	व्रज० ताळी० ४.
विविध वाजित्र वाजे छंदमां रे लोठ,	
ताणस्वरे मळी करे गान;	व्रज० ताळी० ५.
लोठ कहेतां अपर अरुण ओपता रे लोठ,	
लटके नमी मेळये सह मान,	व्रज० ताळी० ६.
लेठ मच्यो ते छन्दांनमां रे लोठ,	
बंसीबंद चार्क रसरूप;	व्रज० ताळी० ७.
गरबो जाँदाने गिरपर आविया रे लोठ,	
मोहो निरखी द्यामोहें स्वरूप;	व्रज० ताळी० ८. ⁵⁶

In words of unrivalled grace and charm the poet depicts here a unique scene of loveliness and life and love. We see before our very eyes the group of shepherd beauties gracefully bending and beating time, and swinging in their circular dance, nay, we feel that we hear the very tinkling of the girls' anklets, the '*girl girl girl tām*,' beats of the *mrudanga*, and only just miss the sweet singing of their song as we wake up from the dream, the vision created by the magic wand of the poet's pen.

If I may, after this drinking in of that vision, be permitted to point out isolated beauty-spots, I would draw your attention to the rhyming of the last words in each pair of stanzas (रूप-अनूप in st. 1 and 2, गान-मान in st. 3 and 4, and so on), a trick which is not a trick on account of its obvious spontaneity. But, something subtler than this is the charming picture suggested by the line लोठ कहेतां अपर अरुण ओपता रे लोठ. The word 'लोठ' (not the one occurring in this *garabī*, but in a song which the *gops* of this picture sang, this frequent tack

56. I have omitted two couplets between st. 4 and 5, as they simply prolong the list of names of the girl friends of Rādhā. I have also stopped short at st. 8, as the subsequent ones mar the compactness of the picture so far, dealing as they do with a consequential picture of Rādhā and Krishna, with the help of Lalitā, stepping away from the dance and meeting secretly in a tower, where, according to the poet, they have their amorous union. The poet, in his desire for this extreme, sacrifices artistic unity.

word of grace, *હોઝ*) when uttered naturally opens the lips slightly but gracefully, and then the red lips of the singers present their sheen. The poet catches a glimpse of this item of beauty, and cleverly presents it before our eyes,—merely by an incidental touch of his descriptive pen. Details like this go to build up the beauty of the whole picture.

(2)

ચાલ મ્હેઠી~ અણબેલી~ પ્યારી~ રાખે !

ત્હને~ ત્હારો~ કહાન બોલાવે,

ત્હને~ ઘનશ્યામ બોલાવે,

ત્હને~ ત્હારો પિયુ બોલાવે,

સરસ સમય સાથે—સાથે; પ્યારી~ રાખે ! ૧.

નયી તુજ સમા કોઈ અલિલ વિષ વામા;

શચી સાવિત્રી ઉમા રમા રામા;

તે પળ નહિ સમોવદ, અવર કોણ કામા ?

ત્હારી~ તુલના ? ત્હારી~ તુલના ?

ઈંકું તું જ, કે વ્રજભૂષ, તું તદ્ભૂષ, ગુણસ્વરૂપ,

વાસરૂપ, અણ્વરૂપ, સકૃતરૂપ, વેદ્ય અનુપ,

ગતિ અગાધે, અગાધે, પ્યારી~ રાખે !⁵⁷ ૨.

The style and diction here are varied, the apparent repetition in *ત્હારો કહાન બોલાવે, ઘનશ્યામ બોલાવે, ત્હારો પિયુ બોલાવે*, far from being a fault, is but a reflection of the intensity and earnestness of the entreaties to Râdhâ made by her girl friend. A curious metrical peculiarity attracts notice here and deserves attention. The opening line as also the lines of the *ântarâ*, are nothing but the metre known as '*dindi*' in their metrical mould,—*dindi*, which is originally and eminently a Marâthi metre. Here is a specimen —

આર્યભૂષી ગીર્વાણ મધુર વાળી,

સરસ વાઙ્મયિ જ્યા મહિષી વુષાર્ણી,

ત્યાંત કવિવર જ્ઞયદેવ સમ ન કોળી

સરસ લલિતસ્વર રચિઠિ મધુર ગાર્ણી ॥

57. I have extracted only the first two stanzas, to serve only as a specimen. The whole song is full of corrupted text, requiring correct editing.

If you compare the lines of Dayārāma with these lines, you will at once perceive the identity of the metre. Here arises an interesting question, how and whence did this metre come into Dayārāma's poetical factory? I once thought and still think that *dindī* (as also *abhangā*) was first introduced into Gujarātī poetry by Bholānātha Sārābhāī, (who wrote his *dindī*, deliberately on the Marāṭhī model sometime before A. D. 1880). For, in this *garabī* before us, Dayārāma has the measure but not the name or recognition of *dindī* as such. However, it is not at all unlikely that Dayārāma came across *dindī* in Marāṭhī either in reading or hearing, and he unconsciously adopted the rhythm, and, what is more artistic, interwove it with another rhythm and brought out a lively and graceful combination.

I give only one specimen from his comparatively serious and philosophical work "*Rasika Vallabha*." The sweetness of the word picture, the classical elegance of style, and the correctness of rhythm, will appear evident at once.

(१)

(दाळ)

- करें गान मधुकर मनोहर, मदनमत्तमद मकरन्द,
 त्यां निविष्ट पवन येहे छपद, शीतळ, सुगन्धि, मन्द. ३.
- कांचनलता मलिका मालति वेतवी रहीं झुळी,
 धेंपक बहुळ कलहार प्रफुल्लित, कलरी रहीं झुळी. ४.
- मणिरत्नमय गिरिराज भी, श्रीनाथ मन लोमाय;
 अभ्यक्त मधुर छन्द द्विजगण, सोमा कहों नव जाय. ५.
- शतपत्रलोचन छन्दरी क्षयामातण्यां बहु एन्द,
 ते मध्य निळसे दाळ नटवर रसिकमणि गोविन्द. ६.
- नित्य भवत रासविद्यासरचना, कथनमां कथम आपे ?
 ते नित्य लीला अ-प्राप्त, आनन्दमय सुति गाये. ७.
- ए पुष्टिसुष्टि सर्वनी, श्री-अंगयी वरपत्य,
 जेन क्षयाप्रीतम कृष्णरूप विना ठरे नाई मत्य. ८.

(Pada 82).

I must not omit Dayārāma's "*Shad Ritu Varnana*." Here is a specimen:—

(4)

शरद् ऋतु

वीती छपा छपभातजा कहे शरद जो आवी;	
नाथ हजी न बळ्यार सखी, पाणिपत्रीओ नावी.	१
जळ वारळ निर्मळ थयां, पळया पंथी छपंध,	
चले न तदपि कंसनी किंकरी थकी कंध.	२
खंजन प्रकट थयां गयां आंस अंजन वहीने,	
रंजन मन भंजन कयां, छख शयीं रस्यो दहीने.	३
आतप कयम थरं चन्द्रिका, आ ते सोम के सर ?	
छखकर विपरीत पिशु विना, दे दुःख प्रचुर.	४
कयां ते शरद छपा चन्द्रमा ! कयां ते त्रिविध समीर !	
कयां छछपुंज निहुंज ! कयां ते भीयमुनातीर !	५.
कयां ते मोहन छबी माधुरी ! वनरासविदास !	
आज सरव अवळां थयां, पति पाखे दे रास.	६.

The lines breathe throughout a strain of tender grief and despair : words simple yet graceful and classical.⁵⁸ This is only an extract of the whole poem, taken from an advance sheet print of the *Brīhat Nāṛya Dohana*, obtained by the friendly courtesy of Mr. Natavaralal I. Desai of the *Gujarati Press*, requires proper re-editing, as it is full of corrupt readings. The poem secures variety by occasional interspersing of classical metres like *Śāṇḍīla cīrīḍīta* and *mālinī*, but they are hopelessly rugged and incorrect. Take only one instance

घन स्यम घनइयाम ये कर्षुं एक काम;
तम विरह अगाथा, मुग्ध करी जग्त राया,
निशदिन को न जाणे समय एक ज प्रमाणे,
सखी इहां समझाये, कोक मवने बताये.

(*Varaha Ritu*, at 16).⁵⁹

58. The ideas, some of them, may sound conventional, yet they possess a freshness of their own. The first line in stanza 4 will remind you of चातुर्दशमण सेम्पतां तरतल चराचरज्जुमते from *Prasanna Raghda*, VI-1.

59. I am tempted to draw your attention to the following lines in this poem:

It will not detract from the merits of Dayārāma's poetry, if I mention that at least in one case (*viz.* in the case of the *garabī* *सांभळ रे तु सजनी म्हारी रजनी क्यां रमी भावी जी*) is more or less a whole-

वसंत ऋतु

जो वयल्या वदे राधिरा, ऋतु भावी वसंत,	
संजोगी छत्र सागरी, विरही दुष्टा अनंत.	१.
कुसुमितवन उपवन थपां, गुंजे भृंग मदमाता;	
x x x	३.
किंशुक फूल पीतरक्तता लागे ए ज प्रमाणे,	
वितव व्याघ्र विरहीट्टे विदार्य नस जाणे.	४.
त्रिविष समीर वृन्दाट्टी, परभृत वळ बोले,	
ललित सुमन मधुकण स्रये, हरिवण वर छोले.	५.
प्रफुलित द्रुम सहकारना, द्विज प्रमुदित झमे;	
x x x	६.

Some persons have argued from the existence of the words put in black type in the above that Dayārāma must have taken those words from the play, *Pāñchālī*, *Pratannakhyāna* (attributed to Premānanda) which contains the following *Kāvya*

आ ते ललित सुमन मधुकण स्रये अवे,
 वा मधुरी गुंजरीनी मीठाव मोंवी घणी,
 किंशुक कुसुम रक्तपीत वर्ण वास वडं
 अतुदिन आ गुडार गुंजरी महामणि !
 उपवन कुसुमित जोरं मत्त भृंग गुंजे,
 अकळ परभृत आ घाणी छे प्रेमीतणी !
 घरभिये सहकार प्रफुलित पूर्ण कीपा,
 प्रमुदित द्विज गिरा घरभि छहामणी;

and they show this as evidence of genuineness of Premānanda's authorship of the play ! They forget that it can be argued with equal, if not greater, force that the w. it r who palmed off the play as Premānanda's must have flourished after Dayārāma and picked up and used the noted expressions from Dayārāma's poem. I have discussed this point at length in a note in "Vasanta" of *B'rahma V. S.* 1968, pp. 397-399.

sale borrowing from Bhāḷana and, earlier still, Narasimha Mehta. This is proved to the hilt by Mr Rāmalāl Chāmlāl Modi⁶⁰

Never the-less there is a rich amount of original work on which Dayārāma's poetic fame will remain broad based. And after the specimens given by me, I trust you will agree with me that Dayārāma excels Premānanda in beauty of composition and refinement of style

REVIEW

Let us halt at Dayārāma and cast a retrospective glance at the course of our journey.

Mirībāi and Narasimha Mehtā shine far far back at the opening end of the vista,—luminous and alone. Padmanābha, Bhāḷana, and Bhīma, different in type and choice of subjects, other poets Karmānamantri, Keśava, Ganapati, Nākara and others, come in a serial phalanx of inferior but still considerable merit, then we look back on the blank in the second half of the seventeenth century of the Vikrama Era. Then dawns the eighteenth century with Viśvanātha Jñāi, Viśvanūdās, and Śīṭadāsa, more or less minor lights. Then the towering poets Akho, Premānanda and Sāmala, Vallabha, the vigorous and brilliant son of Premānanda again a drop in merit for a century, with occasional brilliancy from luminaries like Revāśankara, Pritam dāsa and others and finally we see the graceful and charming singer, Dayārāma.

Glancing through the subjects we find (1) *bhakti*, *śringāra*, *gnāna-vairāgya*, (2) epic-like *prabandhas*, (3) stories of length like the *Vimāla prabandha*, *Mādhavānala* etc., (4) *Ālhyāna* of Premānanda's type, (5) Sāmala's stories, again (6) *gnāna*, *bhakti*, *vairāgya* etc., between Vallabha and Dayārāma,—a really variegated range, no doubt, but after all, not disclosing any giant palm trees or grand Baobab trees, only a mango grove with occasional notes of the cuckoo, but mostly a grave where the Bhakta sings his *bhajanas* or the lovers bill and coo. We must skip over Jom literature which is now being diligently explored, it must wait before it can be estimated at its true worth.

⁶⁰ See his epigraph on *Bhāḷana*, pp. 119-122

This review will suggest to us the historical back-ground in which the pictures are placed. First, the quiet times of the saintly characters, Narasinha Mehtā and Mirābāi, then the desire to look back to the times of clashing sword and armour, again, inspite of the disturbed times between Narasinha Mehtā and Akho, an unknown influence of literary activity; then the *bhakti* movement of the 15th and 16th centuries casting its glowing wings over all, and informing the literature, rather ennobling it.

By the side of these forces, forces affecting the social side of the people appear only in peeping poems like "गोस्मा, शिद आप्यो अवतार के नागरी न्यातनं रे होल."

We also see in this picture-gallery a row of home-sticking poets, generally playing their own notes on instruments of their own choice, caring little for the outside world, less for other lore beyond their homes, and least for this side of life and its complex problems,—problems some of which had not arisen and some of which did not catch the eyes of men of those times. And yet, pilgrimage took some of the people on compulsory journeys and forced on them the knowledge of other parts of India, but only to a limited extent. Poets like Premānanda occasionally sojourned in Nandurbar, a distant place in those days. Some even wrote works while living in the Deccan; and Dnyānānanda's extensive travels are well known.

No wonder then that 2 or 3 Rāngālī songs are found in two manuscript copies of miscellaneous poems which I have been able to see owing to the friendly courtesy of Mr. Nāṭavarīāl Ichhārāma Desai who owns these manuscripts. The manuscripts are dated Vikramā Samvat 1730 and 1735. Here are the pieces:—

(१) श्रीगणेशायनमः

। राम गीत बंगल छे ।

आम बंधुलोरी देआलो देआ न हो केने आम बंधु छो ॥ १ ॥

हमारी कपट मभा (भाषा) दुसीते न पारी

देआ हीआ राते पांज (प्राण) घनंज को पारी आम बंधु छो ॥ २ ॥

मरीवो मरीवो आम अवत मरीवो

हीआ हरे पाज पंद कादारे बहीवो ॥ - - आम बंधु - छो ॥ ३ ॥

(२) गीत बंगल छन्दे

नव गोरा नव गोरा

बंधु हरीभा कादीभा पाण लीटा रे नव गोरा ॥ १ ॥

बंधु बडो हीस घुद बाणी आर माइआ रे नव गोरा ॥ २ ॥

आगे लवे गोरा (से ?) मरसे भारो

हरीभा कादीभा पाण लीटा रे नव गोरा ॥ ३ ॥

पेरीए चीवनसादी चलोए माधव बोरी

डाकीए दाकी ननदे हइआ नव गोरा

कोओ कथा अके ठारे ॥ केवा बुझोए पारे ॥

ही शीभा कादीभा पाण लीटा रे नव गोरा ॥

Remarks.

Is this Bangālī of that period? Beames says (Vol II, page 228) Bangālī began in the beginning of the 16th century A. D. Till then Bhojapuri and Bihārī were the languages of early Bīngālī poets. With this query I leave the question as one requiring closer investigation before a final decision can be arrived at.

Modern Literature.

This is a subject which I must treat in the most cursory manner. The outstanding feature of modern literature is its prose which was started by Ranchhodāśā, whom Navalarāma calls the father of Gujarātī prose. Nevertheless in modern times poetry claims a predominant share in Gujarātī literature. In prose fiction strikes a dominant note.

History, biography and philosophy are making very slow progress and disclose very little original work. Science can claim but a very poor corner in the edifice of Gujarātī literature.

Modern Gujarātī poetry began some time about A. D. 1880. Some of its most gifted poets stand out prominently but it is sad to note that a host of imitators of their style are a blemish in the glory of that literature. Govardhanarāma, Manilal, Kalāpi, Nānālāl and some others are the pillars supporting the fame of modern Gujarātī poetry, but the real intrinsic poetic inspiration which propelled their work could not be translated by mere imitation which suffers by a want of sincerity and of the ring of truth, as also absence of culture.

and learning and an ignorance of one's own limitations. The result is that the poetic style which is the subject of imitation comes into undeserved disgrace.

I do not wish to deprecate the literary ideals which inspire modern poetry. In fact I am a worshipper of these ideals. All I wish is that these ideals should not be dethroned from their proper pedestal, and hence I want to point out the danger which lies in the direction of false imitation. On the other hand, there is a class of critics which casts undeserved accusations on modern poetry. This is due to the critics not being able to appreciate correctly the real merits of that poetry. When scholars like Sir George Grierson fail to appreciate the true worth of this new poetry, one cannot help breathing a sigh of disappointment. He says:

"Under English influence a number of works have been issued from the press of late years, but these possess little originality, and are mostly translations" (Article on vernacular literature given in the Imperial Gazetteer of India—New Edition, Vol III, (1908 A. D.) at page 430.).

I am afraid Sir George has based this statement on indirect evidence, for in the very place from which I have quoted him he says that Gujarati language has not produced any giants like Tulasidāsa, Suradāsa and others. In making that statement he seems to forget poets like Premānand, Dayāram and others with whose works evidently he was not in direct touch, for I have reasons to believe that he has not that much familiarity with Gujarati Literature as he has with Hindi Literature.

I shall cite one more evidence of undeserved censure passed on modern Gujarati poetry. Rev. Mr H. R. Scott, Head of the Mission at Surat, read in 1911 A. D. a paper before a Gujarati Missionary Conference. This is his appreciation of modern Gujarati poetry.

"There is a modern poetry over which I do not advise you to spend time. It is the work of highly educated men, who aim at clothing the poetic fancies of English and Sanskrit poets in rather high born Gujarati. It is for the most part very artificial—full of

जो सरज बली आपमे पची न्होती म्हारी मूळमोम;
ज्योति असंड मंगे जदि, जेनां तेज दळे वींची व्योम।

कोइ संत बतावो ए वाद.

संसारने हूने वायरे पाय परपरना हीप गुळ;

जीवन एवां अहिनां ब्रह्मतिपां; म्हारे सुटक भमरोनां कुळ;

कोइ संत बतावो ए वाद:

इवाने अपरे खीळतो ने सन्धाने कठि दिटाय;

एवा रे स्नेहने सोणळे म्हाटे जीवतर मोटां धाय;

कोइ संत बतावो दिव्य वाद:

पगळे पगळे पावक प्रभळे, आंखये ठपों अन्यकार,

पामर देहनी पीठ पही वही, मवरण केरो मार।

हये संत दोरो सरवाद.

(*Anjali*; a Collection of poems by Keshavn H. Seth, page 100)

This is *not* a translation of Cardinal Newman's famous hymn, "Lord Kindly Light." Nor is it an echoing of that piece. Even though it derives its informing spirit from a translation of Cardinal Newman's hymn, which begins with प्रेमल ज्योति म्हारो दाखवी म्हारो जीवन पंथ उजाडय the thought resonance whereof must have been treasured in the poet's subconsciousness, this piece presents quite an original poetic effusion, a creation, embodying beautiful thought in beautiful words. The poem gives a pathetic expression to the cry of the life-pilgrim who has lost his way in the dark tangle of this world,—a cry addressed to "some" benign saint who can guide the pilgrim. The pilgrim, though lost in the wood of this life, distinctly recollects his old home,—heaven, where suns do not rise and set, where eternal light shines and even pierces down into this world. The third stanza is conceived in an exquisite spirit of poetic flight: in it the pilgrim laments the vain oscillations of his life in a dream of love, a love which buds forth on the lips of the Dawn and fades away on the banks of Eve. To call this poem an imitation of English poetry clothed in artificial and obscure language is nothing short of slander born of prejudice and nurtured by jealousy, feelings which blind the adverse critic to the distinction between imitation and inspiration. And

remember please, this piece is but a type representing good modern Gujarati poetry.

I am tempted to present one more instance from modern poetry for the benefit of critics of the class represented by the Reverend Mr. Scott—

૧ યજ પ્રાણરૂપ ફૂલે પ્રભો ! સુસુકર સુગન્ધ ત્હમે થજો,
 યજ હૃદયસંગીતે પ્રભો ! રવ મધુર મગ્ધ ત્હમે થજો.
 યજ જીવનની દુઃખરાત્રિમાં પ્રભુ ! ચાંદ્રચન્દ ત્હમે થજો,
 ૨ યજ જીવનના સુસુવદનમાં સન્દર તરંગ ત્હમે થજો.
 યજ પ્રતિવિચારની ઘણીમાં વારિત્ત્વ ત્હમે થજો,
 યજ હૃદયકમલતળી મધુધારાત્તે સેત્તે ત્હમે થજો.
 ૩ યજ કલ્પનાના મેઘધત્તપે રમ્ય રંગ ત્હમે થજો,
 ૪ યજ આત્મના કર્ણપ્રવાસે પાંચરૂપ ત્હમે થજો.

(A poem by Mr Châmpsi V. Udesi, editor of *Naracetana*, published in the Spring number of *Kachcha Vartamāna*, sometime in April or May 1925, quoted in an article—*Sahitya ni sthahimdvālohana* in the *Prayābandhu* (an Ahmedabad weekly) of 17th May 1925)

Who will accuse this charming little poem full of classical elegance of style and real poetic fervor and thought, of being an imitation of Western poetry? And yet there is in this piece an unperceived vein of a poetic attitude, not borrowed from, but inspired by, the light from the West,—nevertheless presenting a decided originality which no one can deny. Shall I attempt a translation, even at the risk of reducing the beauty of the original? Perhaps, I should. So here it is

In the blossom of my breath,
 Be thou the sweetening smell, oh Lord !
 In the music of my heart,
 Be thou the gentle note, oh Lord !
 In the woe filled night of life
 Be thou my lovely moon, oh Lord !

In my happy stream of life
Be thou the dancing wave, oh Lord!
In every thought cloud of my mind
Be thou the water-soul, oh Lord!
In the lotus of my joy
Be thou the honey sweet, oh Lord!
In the rain bow of my fancy,
Be thou the beauteous tints, oh Lord!
In the upward march of Soul
Be thou my helping wing, oh Lord!

I cannot resist the temptation to add one more specimen

સું મહાકાવ્ય ત્રીજી વિષયવાળી રહ્યો,
 રહ્યો યહી જનિતદ્વં સું વરે દ્વં ?
 અતિઘ બ્રહ્માણ્ડ રસરાજ રેલી રહ્યો,
 રસતળી યાદકી સું ધરે દ્વં ?
 દુષ્ટિ શણગારી અદ્ભુત અલંકારથી,
 વાગૂ અલંકાર રહ્યો સ્વપ્ન માસે;
 મોદ નથી કાવ્યનો, માત્ર જીવી રહ્યો
 તજ મહાકાવ્યની એક આગે.

Here is a feeble rendering of this sul lime little piece

Thou pervadest this whole world with the chant of thy grand
Epic, How dare I then compose my poor song?

Thou floodest this whole Universe with thy grand stream of Love How dare I offer then my cup of humble worship?

Thou hast decked with wondrous beauty this Creation all around
All speech a ornament there availeth not

I hanker not after poetry, sustained am I by hope and longing
for the Music of thy Epic grin!

I need hardly say that modern Gujarāṭī poetry, so rashly condemned in ignorance and neglected in pride by foreign critics, can offer gems of rare beauty and originality which would fill more space than I can command here.

PROSODY IN GUJARĀTĪ LITERATURE.

The mention of the contrast between modern and ancient Gujarātī poetry suggests the adjective problem of the Gujarātī Prosody mould into which poetry was cast in ancient literature and in which it finds appearance now. The broad distinction is thus ancient Gujarātī literature even upto Dayārām's time almost invariably adopted the form of *pada*, *dehī*, song (including *garabī* in later days), whereas in modern poetry Sanskrit metres, as well as metres familiar to Apabhramśa and Hindi literatures (like कवित, दुहा, चर्याई सवैया and the like) have found favour. Not that songs and *garabīs* are altogether banished, they still occupy a considerable place, but classical metres began to be adopted with the rise of modern poetry on a very large scale. A brief conspectus of Gujarātī prosody therefore deserves a place here.

Classification of Gujarātī metres The present day Gujarātī prosody, then covers the following classes of metrical moulds.—

- I (a) Classical metres (popularly known as અશરમેલ છત્રો), such as શાંદૂલવિકીરિત, વસન્તતિલકા, મન્દાકાન્તા, માલિની, દરિણી and the like;
- (b) Classical metres based merely on syllabic quantities (માત્રાગણ) e. g. ગીતિ, આર્યા etc., i.e. ગાયા of all kinds;
- (c) Classical metres based merely on numeric measure of syllables, e g. અદ્યુષ્ટ (the only survival of Vedic metrical forms).
- II. Post-classical metres (popularly known as માત્રામેલ છંદ) based merely on syllabic quantity:
 - (a) Metres derived from Apabhramśa poetry;
 - (b) those derived from Hindi poetry;
 - (c) new forms concocted by later poets (to be seen in Dalipatrām's "Pingala.")
- III. Forms inherited or copied from older poets; such as ગરબી, દેસી, વદ.

In this connection, a look at the origin and history of the गारबी mould will be interesting. It must be admitted that to trace the history of the *garabi* is no easy task. Mr Chhaganlal V Raval gives three *garabis* in the Chaitra number (V S 1968) of *Vasanta* at p. 119-120 attributed to Narasinha Mehta. But I have grave doubts about their genuineness.⁵⁷ Besides, it is strange that *garabi* moulds should have existed in Narasinha's time and disappeared for several centuries after him. Then, again, a *garabi* referred to at p. 231 in *पारमपुत्र जीवनचरित* by S'ankaraprasada Chhaganlal Raval and attributed to Narasinha Mehta which runs thus

बहु तुहने वाहु रे जाईंग मा जल भरना

is claimed to be the original of the type taken by Dayarama in his famous *garabi* गीम सामुजी दखे रे के बहुमी रहो दगे is really not of that metrical mould, as will be seen from subsequent lines in that *garabi* given in full in an appendix below (Appendix A). Take only the following lines—

ए छे काओ मु छे गोरी बहुभर एहेने न मल्लि रे।

मनसा वाधा बहु छ तुमने माणसमायी दलीए॥

बहु तुहने०

57 Of these three the first one is already quoted by me above (see supra p. 209), and I have there expressed my doubts as to its genuineness. The other two also are in the same mould belonging to a period much later than Narasinha. Mr Chhaganlal Raval's explanation of the metrical word in each line—*छे* instead of the usual beauty term *खे*—is far from convincing. He assumes in the first place that the *garabis* are genuine and then theorizes that *छे* was the word in use in Narasinha's time. *छे* makes no sense, certainly not such sense as *खे* (of course an ornamental term meant to add grace to the verse). The first *garabi* of course composed in a charming style (which could have been done by any graceful composer like Dayarama or any other) but the other two are of very inferior merit, unlikely to have come from the lips of Narasinha Mehta. The following lines in the third *garabi* are decidedly worse in thought and word, which Narasinha Mehta would never have adopted—

परप्यो जानन एही बात के गहरा यादग रे हो

परप्यो पौकमे मारा राम क भाग रातो थगे रे हो

They are longer, much longer, in *mātrā* value than શીલ સામૂજી દેહે &c. and different in rhythm and *matras* (યતિ). At the most, it may be said that the opening line may perhaps have furnished Dayārāma with a model for his song,—શીલ સામૂજી &c, though I believe it is possible to fit the opening line into the rhythm of the *āntarās*, i.e. the subsequent couplets, and yet the second line (which forms the *astās* (અસ્તાઈ) fits more with the subsequent *āntarās* in metrical construction than with the opening line, a fact which is significant and favors the theory that even the opening line is not of the type of શીલ સામૂજી દેહે રે

There is the *garabī* of Dayārāma's, beginning સામઝ્ય ને હું સજની મ્હારી રજની કયા રમી આવી રે, which is traced back to Bhāṭṭa and Nara-siṃha Mehta. This, so far as the metrical construction goes, is not really a *garabī* but a *pada* (પદ), or *deśī* (દેશી). Thus, any attempt to take back the *garabī* several centuries before Dayārāma must fail. True, there are *garabīs*, composed by some poets of the Svāmīnārāyaṇa cult, e.g. અવિનાશી આવો રે કે જમવા કૃષ્ણ હરિ, but then they all came after Dayārāma's time. As I have stated before in dealing with Dayārāma's poetry, I admit that *garabī* was an institution existing since unknown date, and perhaps a few *garabīs* were sung, therein. But it was Dayārāma who focussed the *garabī*, nourished it, grew it, enlarged its scope, and popularized it by his own vocal musical powers and performances—a work which was continued after him by his pupils, Gīryaśankara and another. Nay, it was he who created the real type of *garabī* form, and so far I am prepared to modify the literal statement made earlier that Dayārāma did not create the *garabī*, for the *garabī* with its true soul was his creation.⁵⁸

58. The derivation of the word *garabī* is not certain. However, I may venture a guess. ગરબો લોલકો is an expression used in connection with the institution of *garabī*. In times not quite gone by an earthen jar with several holes in its sides and with a lamp inside it was placed on the ground and females (and sometimes males) moved round it, singing *garabīs* (or *garabīs*), the custom still prevails in some places. This lamp may have been called ગરબીય (a lamp in the interior of the jar). This word contracted into ગર્બો-ગરબો, by the process of sense-transference known as *lakṣṇāna*, came to mean the song sung round the lamp jar.

I make a distinction between *garabo* and *garabī*. The former is a lengthy piece, heavy, and regardless of compactness of subject matter, while *garabī* is a delicate and refined formation of mould and compact, concise in its subject matter. Compare Vallabha Bhat's आनन्दनो गरबो or कलिकावतनो गरबो with Dayārāma's बीर सामूजी दे छे रे or कदावदो कामणगारो रे or हुं शुं जायुं धाटे मुनमा शुं दीड़, and you will at once perceive the fine distinction between *garabo* and *garabī*. The term *garabo* signifying the performance itself is again another sense of the word.

Another distinction a *garabī* is not the same thing as the songs accepted in the art of music. The musical flourishes known to these songs are not easily workable in *garabīs* which, so far, are of limited musical power and generally do not fully develop any individual *rāga* as known to music, but mostly contain elements of different *rāgas* in stray forms, though artistically combined. I, therefore, decline to recognise such songs as नगर नंद मुगद पर वारी जावं or आरत मोरी गलियनमें गिरपारी as *garabīs*, in spite of the attempts made to introduce them as *garabīs* in the performances by several ladies.

I need not dwell at length on *deśis* and *padas*. These are forms familiar to the 15th and 16th century poets and their successors. I shall have soon below to state something about their metrical constitution.

What are the essential components of metre? In order to properly understand the present day Gujarati essential constituents of metre prosody, we should trace our steps back to the *sons et origo*, the Vedic metre, and work our way down through the classic and Apabhramśa periods. True, there is no externally visible link joining all these stages, and to a certain extent new forms of metre emerged out of nothing as it were, and the originators thereof from time to time "lisp'd in numbers as the numbers came." Yet, close observation will indicate a running thread of affinity through all the stages. It would take a long treatise to investigate this aspect. It is enough to rest content with the above indication.

To take, then, the Vedic metre at the outset, Vedic Metre was not dependent on accent, as in English, although Vedic Metre accent existed in Vedic Sanskrit, whether it was pitch accent or stress accent is not decisively known, it is believed it was partly stress and partly pitch.⁵⁹ The number of syllables and perhaps their quantity are the essential constituents of metrical form in the Vedic hymns.⁶⁰ Nevertheless the accent in the words, its presence, gave a rhythmic turn to the verse, if not to the metre *per se*.

And yet, independently of the accent, underneath, or in spite of the outward ruggedness of metre, we detect the rhythm of classic metres, relieved here and there by variety in the shape of apparent break of such rhythm. Take, for instance, the following

(a)

यो जा॒त ए॒व प्र॑प॒मो म॑न॒स्वान् दे॒वो दे॒वान् क॑र्त॒ना प॒र्यभू॑ष॒त् ।
यस्य॑ शु॒ष्माद्रो॑दे॒सी अ॒म्यसे॑ता॒ नृ॒ष्णस्य॑ म॒न्दा स॒ जना॑सु इ॒न्द्रः ॥ १ ॥
यः पृ॒थि॒र्वी व्य॑र्ध॒माना॑म॒र्दद् यः प॑र्य॒तान् प्र॑कु॒र्वितो॑ अ॒र॒म्यात् ।
यो अ॒न्तरि॑धं वि॒ममे॒ वरी॑धो यो धाम॑स्त॒न्नात् स॒ जना॑सु इ॒न्द्रः ॥ २ ॥
(Rigveda II-12)

(b)

परा॒ दि मे॒ विम॑न्य॒वः प॑त॒न्ति क॑स्य॑ इ॒दये ।
वयो॒ न व॑स॒तीत्य॑ ॥ ४ ॥

(Ibid I-25)

(c)

स॒प्त च॒क्रान् वे॑दति॒ का॒ठ ए॒व स॒प्तास्य॑ ना॒मी'र॑मृते॒ न्वक्षेः॑ ।
स इ॒मा वि॒श्वा भु॑र्व॒नान्य॑ज॒त् का॒ठः स 'इ॑यते प्र॒पमो॑ ह दे॒वः ॥ २ ॥
पू॒र्णः दु॒ग्धो॒धि का॒ठ आ॒दि'त॑स्त॒ वै प॑द॒योमो॑ ब॒हुषा॑ ह स॒न्तः ।
स इ॒मा वि॒श्वा भु॑र्व॒नानि॑ प्र॒त्यङ् का॒ठं त॑मा॒हुः प॑रमे॒ ध्योम॑न् ॥ ३ ॥

(Atharva Veda, XIX-53)

59. See the first volume of these Lectures, p. 280.

60. See Dr. E. Vernon Arnold's "Vedic Metre" p. 6. § 16.

He says there "the metrical value of a word depends solely upon the number and succession of the short and long syllables which it contains, without regard to the position of the accent."

It will be seen that

in (a) the first half of line one in verse 1 and the second half of line two each read like *indra-raynī* metre, divested of the accent,

the second line in verse 2 yields two *charanas* of *indra-raynī* (reading the अ in अस्तम्याम् as a short syllable),

in (b) the first line yields the rhythm of *pramāṇikā* metre

in (c) in the 2nd verse the latter half of the first line gives *indra-raynī*, reading न्व (in न्वश्) as हु य by *svara bhakti*, in the 3rd verse the latter half of line 2 is also *indra-raynī* in rhythm, व्यो in व्योमन् being वियो by *svara bhakti*, and the remaining lines give uneven cadences of the respective metres

For this reason I cannot help regarding the crude attempts⁶¹ at clothing Gujarātī versification in Vedic metrical form made by some people as a failure and travesty of the Vedic metre, for Vedic accent is unknown to Gujarātī

Next, we may examine the essential constituents of the metres of the classical period

Classic Metre They consist of three divisions

- (1) Those which have for their constituents the fixed arrangement of the syllables according to their quantity : e.g. लृपु and लृङ, shorts and longs,
- (2) Those which owe their form to the total number of मात्रा (i.e. *morae*) in a verse with certain conditions governing the rhythmic movement of the whole,
- and (3) a few metres (e.g. *anushtubh*) which depend only on the number of syllables irrespective of their quantitative values, except in certain places in the verse

61. See the so-called *Richis* in the three plays by Mr K. M. Munshi *Parandara-pūjaryā*, *Arbhakha Aīma* and *Tirpina* (wherein the hymns (1) are composed by a friend of the author's).

Under (1) come metres like मालिनी, वसन्ततिलका, मन्दा
क्रान्ता, हरिणी, पृथ्वी, शार्दूलविक्रीडित, चम्परा, *et cetera*

Under (2) come metres like आर्या, गीति and their varia-
tions,

and under (3) comes अठ्छुप् mainly

The system of measuring metres under class (1) is the con-
ventional one of अक्षरगण, combinations of three syllables each, called
यगण, रागण, लगण, भगण, जगण, सगण, मगण and नगण, according to the
fixed order of quantitative values of each syllable, thus they are re-
spectively indicated thus

य	र	ल	भ	ज
— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
स	म	न		

This system, being only one of convenience, is not true to the
rhythmic formation of the metres concerned, which depends on the
components, happily termed *sandhis* by Kṣaṇavalāh II. Dhruva. Thus—

वसन्ततिलका, as conventionally symbolized, would be ल भ ज ज ग ग
(ग=guru, long), c g

स्वां कामिनो मदनदूतिमुदाहरन्ति

would be scanned thus—

स्वां कामि । मोमद । नदूति । मुदाह । रं । ति ।

but the really rhythmic composition is indicated by the *sandhis*

स्वां कामिनो । मदनदू । तिमुदा । हरन्ति ।

The measuring of metres falling under class (2) is in consonance
with their rhythmic formation, and is done by means of what is
known as मात्रागणः. Thus

गीति is shown as composed of seven *ganas* of 4 *mātrās* each with
a long syllable at the end, in each दल or half of the stanza. The
rhythmic nature is further secured by the restrictive conditions (1)
that no odd गण shall be a जगण, e. — — —, and (2) the sixth गण
should be a जगण or should consist of 4 shorts. This whole defini-
tion can be expressed in the following compact formula

दादा । वा आ । दादा । वा आ । दादा । ददाड । दादा । गा ।

where दा = two mātrās, i. e. — or ~~,

वा आ = four mātrās, i. e. — — or — ~ or ~ — or ~ ~ ~ ;

ड = short (छ))

गा = long (गुरु)

However, I would tack on a further element noting the existing fact, viz that the last syllable should be, not गा (i. e. two mātrās), but a दृढ syllable of four mātrās. I would therefore put वा (आ) for गा in the above scheme

It will be seen that the दादा symbol will secure the condition that no odd गण shall be a जगण while the sixth गण represented by ददाड, will be formed either by a जगण or by four shorts

Next, we deal with present day metres in Gujarātī

These fall under the following groups —

- (1) classic metres, like मालिनी, मन्दारान्ता etc indicated above
- (2) metres based simply on the number of syllables, irrespective of their time-value, e. g. मन्दार छंद, घनाक्षरी छंद etc.
- and (3) metres dependent on the total time value of the syllables forming a verse, with certain restrictions as to *idā*, or time-beat, which secures the rhythmic nature of the verse. This restriction can be secured by symbolic formulae, e. g. हरिगीत, usually described as consisting of 26 or 28 mātrās, with *idā* on mātrās numbers 1-4-8-11-15-18-22-25 or 3-6-10-13-17-20-24-27 and avoiding a जगण coming in the *idā* place, with the last syllable a long (गुरु), can briefly and yet fully be symbolized by the formula—

दाँड दाँदा । दाँड दाँदा । दाँड दाँदा । दाँड गा ।

or दा । दाँड दाँदा । " " "

according as you take it as having 26 or 28 mātrās, the presence of छ in the 21st the दाँडदाँदा, provides against the breach of rhythm due to a जगण coming in the *idā* and the गा at the end of the line securing the other condition the formula automatically secures the *idā* on the several mātrās prescribed. I owe this rational and abridged

system to the erudite essay on **પરચનાના પ્રકાર** contributed by D. B. Kēṣavalāl H. Dhruva to the second Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad

[Note As in the case of the last syllable of **ગીતિ** (or **આર્યા**) in the each **દલ**, I would insist that the last **ગા** in the 26 *mātrā* **હરિગીત** is really a four *mātrā* **જુત**. This condition is necessary to secure a rhythmic link with the succeeding **ચરણ**]

Metres falling under class (3) require no explanation, their description already given automatically fixes the mould

Regarding the essential constituents of *deśīs*, *padas*, *garabīs* there is a general belief, certainly based on the ignorance of the root nature of metrical formation, that these moulds require no time measurement by *mātrās*, or if they do, there is no fixed rule to guide their formation. This belief is held by persons of some pretensions to expert knowledge. It is quite possible to expose the erroneous nature of such a belief. Take any *deśī*, *pada* or *garab*, you cannot help chanting it in time measure, a fact quite sufficient to refute the erroneous view just stated. The error arose from the fact that our old poets took violent liberties with these formations compressing into a short time-compass any number of long syllables or spinning out short ones into any arbitrary time-length. It is not impossible to frame correct rules fixing the moulds for these apparently loose metres. In fact, the late Navalarāma Lakshmirāma began an attempt in this direction, starting it in his **ગરવાલી**, but somehow or other he did not complete his efforts. It is not possible to deal with this matter here at any length. However, I may furnish one or two indications

- (a) Compare the **દાઝ** mould used by Premānanda and the same adopted by Dayārāma and you will see the contrast between ruggedness and metrical correctness

1. અષકાર દીઠો અતરિલે, અસુર પને આરિયા,
ગિરિતહર માંસ યોગિત માયા કરીને લાવિયા.
કરી ચોરણ કદકદાટ્ય રેણુ કહે મયમીત ઘણી,
ઘ્યાપી છીપી દશો દિશ માયા વીધી પોતાતળી.

(Premānanda, *Madālasā*, VI)

2. मणिरत्नमय गिरिराज श्री, श्रीनाथ मन लोभाय,
अव्यक्त मधुर उगद द्विजगण, सोभा कही नव जाय,
क्षतपथलीचन सुन्दरी दयामातृणां बहु छन्द,
ते मध्य विलसे लाल नयवर रसिकमणि गोविन्द.

(Dayārāma, *Rasika-rallabha*, LXXXII, 5-6)

The correct rhythm of दादाएदा in (2) is obvious, whereas in (1) the lines limp at certain places. This is irrespective of the fact that दाळ need not run uniformly on the दादाएदा scheme and that दादाएदा दा एदादादा, दादादादा दागा and similar variations characterize it.

(b) Take the following line of the regular metre known as पञ्चगमः—

उत्रे धात्री छाय छदीपर छजता,

and the following line of a *garābī* of the type of आतो मातो
घरखुग्यमनी राख जो:

हा ! देव ! छं विपरीत दूखइं दीपछं ?

You can read one and the other in convertible forms, the underlying metric formation being one and the same, the difference consisting in the chanting of them and the shifting of the *yaṭi*, thus in पञ्चगम the *yaṭi* is after the eleventh *mātrā*, while the *garābī* is a non-stop line altogether. Read the *garābī* line with the *caesura* after त in विपरीत and the छु turned into a three *mātrā* प्छुत, and it will be पञ्चगम, or read and chant the पञ्चगम line without the *caesura* after य in छाय and without lengthening the र in छदीपर into a प्छुत, and it will be the *garābī* of the type stated.

[Note. I would not insist on the प्छुत in the पञ्चगम metre, for it is possible to read it as one *mātrā* syllable and yet secure the rhythm. The प्छुत variation is but an ornamental element in chanting.]

Modern novelties. During recent years modern poets have introduced certain innovations in the composite structure of several metres, e. g.

(a) उपजाति-यस्तन्निष्ठवा

(b) संहियारिणी

(c) અભ્યસ્તશિલ્પરિણી

(d) શંદરિગીત

and the like Instances of such combinations and variations may be interesting

उपजाति वसन्ततिलकाः

પ્રચળ્લ એ જ્યોતિ અલળ્લ દ્વેતો
વિશલ્લ આ વિષ્વ વિલોષી~ દેતો,
ના જ્યોતિષી મિત્ર દીપ્તે જ કાંદે,-
આ પેર જો ! પ્રજ્વલિ દ્વરી~ પુરૂષમાંદિ.

(*Hṛdaya-vind* by Narsinhach Bholāpātha,
Dṛya gāyaka gana, st. 58)

The author of this work believed he had created this original combination, till years afterwards he heard the following lines quoted from the *Bhāgavata*

तै सर्ववादप्रतिरूपशीलं
वन्दे महापुरुषमारमणिगुह्योपमम् ॥

(Probably from the XIIth *Shandha*)

which present exactly the same combination

Of a different, but kindred, type is the combination of *pramāṇīlā* metre and *praharṣinī* in the following lines,

मृदङ्गशङ्खतुणवाः
तृपद्भ्रमन्ति संसदि ।
प्रासादे घनपतिरामकेशयानाम् ॥

(Patañjali under Pāṇini's II-11-34 has these lines)

(Dr Sir R. G. Bhandarkar refers to these lines, without quoting them, in his *Vaishnavism and Śaivism*, p. 13)

(b) શંદશિલ્પરિણી:

જગ ! મજ્જને ધોર ચીતદાં,
વટી~ નચવને વાન્ત ચીતદાં,
નમેરી છાયાનો વિજટ તવ પેરો ઘટ ધમે,
ઘટાતી જ્યોત્સ્નાનો મણિમય પ્રીતિવંધ દીપમે.

(*Maṇimaya Senthī*, by Nānālāl D. Kavi, *Ketalānk Kāvya*, Part I, pp 62-63)

NOTE—This combination was first devised by Manisankar R. Bhatta, so claims Mr Rāmanārāyaṇa Pāthaka in his Introduction to *Pūrcālōpa* (collection of Manisankar's poems) at p. 46 thereof. The claim is based on the poem entitled *Udgāra*. A look at it, however, shows that it is a further combination of अभ्यस्त शिखरिणी (which I shall soon illustrate) and the स्रंद शिखरिणी of Nṛnālāl's *Manimaya Senti*. This pure स्रंद शिखरिणी came into being in this poem in A. D. 1898, and in Narasimharao's poems in A. D. 1907.

(c) अभ्यस्तशिखरिणी:

प्रिये पादाम्बुजे,
हले हारा ओजे,
विधाते ! गेरी ए सव घतद ! आछा रसम्भे
समपेहुं छेजे जीवन रसछोळे, अतुपमे
धनविभवमां विवृत हसे:
अलपिजडमां को नदी टसे:
ऊंचे ब्योमान्तमां झट्टहलतीं ज्योति ऊंडूं वसे:
सल्लि हारी मूर्ति हृदयभवने एम विटसे.

(*Indul'undra*, Act I, scene ii, pp. 27-28,
by Nṛnālāl D. Kavi.)

Note—Mr Nṛnālāl, like Manisankar Bhatta in his poem, *Udgāra*, has combined here अभ्यस्त with स्रंद शिखरिणी, the first half of this stanza being अभ्यस्त शिखरिणी and the second one being स्रंद शिखरिणी.

Prof. B. K. Thākor, in his poems in *Bhānā'dra*, has multiplied metrical freaks like these by way of अभ्यस्त पृथ्वी, अभ्यस्त मन्दावता and the like, in one case ("वपारे वदेहुं मा" at p. 66) अभ्यस्त is a mainmoter, for only at the end of the fourth line of each stanza he has repeated the six syllables beginning the first line, more as a refrain interlarding the stanzas, he could have rightly named it शृंगारिणी शिखरिणी.

(d) स्रंदशिखरिणी:

अणगण्या ब्रह्माण्डना
गोद निज पद्म मरी

प्रकृति धन अंधारमां
घाली अनन्तपणा भणी.

(“ घुवड ”, *Hridaya vāna*, by Narasimharao
Bholañātha, pp 49-50)

The peculiar features of this metre are explained at length in the notes to the poem “घुवड” It will suffice here to point out that the scheme of the metre is —

दाळ दादा दालदा
दाल दादा दाळदा
दाळ दादा दाळदा
दा दाळ दादा दाळदा.

The scheme secures a rhythm different from the ordinary हरिगीत by lopping off an extra दा at the end of each of the first two lines and at the same time contributes an element of variety by linking the third and the fourth lines with an initial दा in the fourth line True, the 3rd and the 4th lines, read together, make a line of ordinary हरिगीत, but coming only once, the initial दा in the 4th line sounds more as a new feature than in the ordinary हरिगीत, especially as the दा is lopped off from the end of the first and second lines

Thus being so, this true खंड हरिगीत is easily distinguishable from certain imaginary imitations thereof which adopt the merely external trick of cutting a line into parts, without lopping off of syllables, and virtually yield the ordinary हरिगीत scheme in its entirety Thus, for instance the following lines of a poem by Mr A F Khabardār, are nothing but the ordinary हरिगीत in spite of the ostensible trick of line-division —

कय्दा कुमुदनी
कोमळ बनी,
कय्दा धुवर ते फांटामयो ?
आ रंग ओ न्यारो घयो,
ओ रजपूताणी वी रंगना !

(*Vinīgand Karmadevi*, published in “Vasanta”,
Adhika Śrāvana, 1965, p 313)

Simply read the lines re-arranged thus —

कय्दां ह्यमुदनी कोमल बनी कय्दां धुरर ते पांटाभयो ?
आ रंग घो न्यारो पयो, ओ रजपूताणी वी रंगना !

and you discover the orthodox *हरिगीत* of 28 *mātrās* in each line

It will be noticed that the types (b), (c), and (d) given above comprize metres with internal variations of their parts, whereas the type (a) presents combinations of different metres. One more instance of this latter type, and a happy combination may be added here. It is found in Nhanalal D Kavi's poem noted above, *Maṇimaya Senth*. Here is the instance

आला पेला दयाम अम्पितरंगे
झाडी ! त्तारी मूर्ति जो ! मेपरंगे;
विशान्तमं गीत थां घोर गाजे !
झाडी स्थां ए प्रणवरसी छं आत्मबिन्दु विराजे.

Here we find the first three lines in *शाडिनी* metre, and the fourth one in *मन्दाक्रान्ता*. The two metres combine easily, because their constitution is kindred, thus—

शाडिनी—गंगा गंगा गण्डगा गण्डगंगा;

मन्दाक्रान्ता—गंगा गंगा [छट्ट छट्टा] गण्डगा गण्ड गंगा;

i. e. *शाडिनी* results from dropping the middle *sandhi* (छट्ट छट्टा) from *मन्दाक्रान्ता*, and, conversely, *मन्दाक्रान्ता* is formed by inserting छट्ट छट्टा (as a middle *sandhi*) between the first and second *sandhis* of *शाडिनी*, a fact which makes the two metres homogeneous, in a way

Similarly *उपमाति-वसन्ततिलका* possesses the element of kinship in the fact that *वसन्ततिलका* is formed by wedging छट्ट into *इन्द्रवज्रा* (which differs from *उपमाति* only in that its first syllable is long), at the end of the first *sandhi*. Thus

गंगा टगा [छट्ट] ना छट्टगाड गंगा is *वसन्ततिलका*,

and dropping [छट्ट] we have गंगा टगागा छट्टगाड गंगा,

i. e. *इन्द्रवज्रा*. Thus in both the cases the combinations are harmonious

(b) Under modern novelties in metre there is the foreign importation of what is crudely and wrongly called the *गमक* metre. It

is an import from Persian prosody, and in Gujarātī very few poets have succeeded in bringing in the true form and spirit of the Persian original Bālāśankara Ullāsarāma was the pioneer in this line, and Manilāl Dvivedī, "Kalāpī," and several others come after him with varied metrical success or rather failure. I need not encumber this Chapter on Prosody with illustrations.

(c) Next, in the line of modern novelties, we come to Nhānālāl D Kavi's original freak in the shape of metreless verse,—a misnomer, for verse is prose turned into metrical form, whereas Nhānālāl's innovation is innocent of metrical element. This must be said for this innovation that although in its original attempt presented in his वसन्तोत्सव the metreless mould, if it could be called a mould, was a failure, being nothing but pure prose cut up into pieces of unequal lengths to give them a false semblance of metre, his later compositions in this line possess a certain kind of cadence which would entitle it to be called impassioned prose, though certainly not rhythmical metre, as evidenced in the poet's play *Jayā Jayanta*, and subsequent compositions.

(d) Under Modern novelties, may I notice certain liberties taken with metre by Gujarātī poets in the shape of substituting two *udys* for one *guru* and *vice versa*? I hesitate, because it is more a defect than a form. I do not ignore the fact that such license which is known as सममात्रकदेश (Equivalent Substitution) is recognized in the *Prākṛita-Paṅgala*, but it has its restrictions, more unwritten and inherent than stated in rules, which result in smoothness of sound, while in the Gujarātī poets I have in view the liberty gives a distinct jar to the ear, especially when it causes सन्धिभंग : e when it murders the metrical *sandhi*. This liberty is different from the apparent ruggedness of metre in Vedic and post-Vedic periods, already illustrated by me above, where the apparent ruggedness is but a real source of variety and charm.

Illustrations are needed to make these remarks clear. Here they are —

(a) Modern Gujarātī Poetry.

Only very few poets sin in this direction, in fact only one such deserves notice, on account of his established standing as a true poet, which is the very reason for not forgiving his metrical solecisms of this kind, inspite of his elaborate but hopeless defence in the Introduction to his collection of poems. I mean Prof. Balvantrao K. Thākore's poems (in his *Bhāṇaśūtra*) (See pp. 25-27 of the Introduction)

- (1) तजी षड्व वतमान, प्राचीनपी पोषीने
(*Bhāṇaśūtra*, p. 61, l. 10)
- (2) उपेयी जतनेपी सीण, लोभावती लोचन
(*Ibid*, p. 52, l. 14)
- (3) अरे चीही छन्दर छरार दयिता, आव निवट
(*Ibid*, p. 65, l. 1)
- (4) अरे हारर चीतल कमळगुढे भीड छुजने
(*Ibid*, p. 65, l. 3)

Instances (1) and (2) are lines of पृथ्वी metre, the प्रा and लो respectively therein are metrical atrocities in the shape of one गुरु for two उपुs, as they break the rhythm mercilessly. Nos (3) and (4) are lines of छिपरिणी metre, the हर and लल therein respectively are metrical violations of an inverse type, two उपुs for one गुरु,—violations equally unpardonable owing to their defiant effrontery.

I could multiply instances from this poet's works, he revels in such fantastic liberty in metre. But these are sufficient to serve as types.

(b) Prakṛita-Pāṇḍal.

- (1) तिद्द पाए वणरित अक्खर परो एकेण बीदं सुणो
- (2) वण अस्सीतरवण्णठामपरिभे एभारिते हारभे
- (3) अउत्तीसे एद्द सच्छत्तच्छत्त वण्णा वित्ताम येज्जपिभो
- (4) गुरु चाटीसर पारितेण एद्दमा दिट्ठाणविट्ठाणभं
- (5) मय सेत्ताअउद्दंय एरसो पंचाएसो सट्ठभो

(Edition by Chandra Mohana Ghosh, pp. 533-534)

These instances show, in the syllables underlined, the substitution of two लघु for one गुरु, which, in spite of the metre (शार्दूल विक्रीडित) being a पर्णवृत्त, does not jar on the ear, the reason being their initial position in the line. None the less these are cases of liberty in metre, which true rhythmists will not perpetrate. The inverse case (1 e one गुरु for two लघु) is not traceable in this work, it is too much of a rhythmic blunder to receive recognition.

(c) Apparent ruggedness in Vedic metre

I have already cited instances of this a few pages before. I need not repeat them. However, I may quote from Dr E. Vernon Arnold to show that a large scope for elasticity is allowed in Vedic metre. He says

"There are few parts of the verse in which the poets do not consider themselves free at times to depart from the usual rhythms in the Rig Veda ("Vedic Metre, in its historical development", p. 9, 31). Still he shows by analysis a sort of undercurrent of rhythm on the whole.

(d) Apparent ruggedness in post-Vedic metre.

The following instances from the *Bhagavad Gītā*, XI, will illustrate my point—

- (1) किरीटिन गदिनं चक्रिणं च
तेजोराशिं सर्वतो दीप्तिमन्तम् ।
पश्यामि त्वां दुर्निरीक्ष्य समन्ताद्
दीप्तानलार्चयुतिमप्रमेयम् ॥ १७ ॥
- (2) रूपं महत् ते बहुबलनेत्रं
महाबाहो बहुबाहुवपाम् ।
बद्धदं बहुदंष्ट्राकराळं
दृष्ट्वा लोकाः प्रपथितास्तथाहम् ॥ २३ ॥
- (3) कस्माच्च ते न ममेरन् महात्मन्
गरीयसे मन्त्राणोऽप्यादिकर्त्रे ।
अनन्त देवेश जगन्निवास
त्वमघरं सदसद् सत्परं यद् ॥ ३७ ॥

These are picked up at random from a string of more or less irregular verses. They are mainly in the उपजाति metre of a rugged rhythm. In (1) the irregular rhythm of the first line is relieved by the interpolation of a different regular rhythm (शालिनी) in the 2nd and 3rd lines. In (2) the 2nd and 3rd lines are irregular and the 4th one could read as a शालिनी metre but for the short यि in व्यपिता. In (3) the first line is irregular, the 2nd one is disturbed by the long यो in the place of a short syllable, and the fourth one reads irregular.

In spite of all this, the ruggedness marks variety and a peculiar rhythm is created, just like the more or less intentional variations in Milton's blank verse where an occasional trochee comes in by way of variety in lines of iambs.

(c) Finally, may be noted an original modification of the essential composition of existing metres, which affects the very बन्ध, the mould, of the metre, in a slight way, but secretly secures its true nature. This trick adds a charm in its variety. I can think of only one instance.

नयन ऊपदयुं पेतुं...ओजस्वि नवद प्रमातुं,
जगत भरतुं ब्रह्मा... ! जो तेज ऊतरे तातुं,
नवसन्तानिदना... पदरे पराग अलौकिक,
विरल विभूति वपे... एतन्मय आपिदेविक.

(*Lasansotsara*, Dedication, by Nhamalal D. Kavi,
1905 A. D.)

The metre in this is इरिगीत, but with two *midlines* lopped off in the middle, पेतुं जो, ब्रह्मददा, वसन्तानिदना and वपेते would have secured the full complement of the schema. The change seems to have been made intentionally, and we have to read दृ, दा, ना and पे respectively as वैमात्रिह व्युत्त vowels. The charm of the sense is enhanced by this innovation in lines 1, 2 and 4, but not much in the 3rd line.

Or, there is another solution each line is really made up of two *वरजः* (as in *सरहिरिगित*), there being a necessary pause of two

mātrīs after पेट, व्हाला, &c. This is tantamount to the प्लुत idea, yet avoids the necessity of wedging it in a whole चरण

I confess, when I first read this piece I could not pick up the rhythm (the name of the metre not being stated) and at first I thought from the opening half of the line that the metre intended was हरिणी, but the latter half would not scan as such, and I gave up the thing as hopeless till my friend, Mr Keshavalāl H Dhruva discovered the true rhythm secured by the प्लुत manipulation

(D) New elements in metrical signs.

In Gujarati versification the mere fact of syllables being short (ह्रस्व) or long (दीर्घ) does not necessarily indicate लघु and गुरु values. In Sanskrit ह्रस्व लघु । सयोगे गुरु । दीर्घे च (Pāṇini I iv 10, 11 and 12) ensure the principle of quantity. Not so in Gujarati. It resorts to the employment of ~ and - as signs for short and long, placed over long and short vowels wherever necessary, thus only in the case of इ and उ vowels, not ए, ओ, अ or *anusvāra*. Thus, for instance,

जग गजबजे घोर गीतदां,
 यही नचबजे कान्त चैतदां,
 नमेरी छायानो विकट तुज घेरो घट धरो,
 चलाती ज्योत्स्नानो मणिमय प्रीति पंथ रीपरो.

This license when indulged in in the case of Sanskrit words is very often jarring to the classical ear, e g in प्रीति in the last line of the above. Poets like Manikākar R Bhatta and a few others are generally free from this sort of blemish in versification.

इ and उ at the end of *talbhava* words in Gujarati verse are optionally लघु or गुरु as need be. Thus

रे बाटसाहसिनि ! तु पढती विनाये ?
 अज्ञानना कपटरीषयीं तु जणाये ?
 ना जाणती सरल बाट ! तु घोर मावि
 सतार्थ द्याम सरिता जलमांहि आवी.

(*Hri laya-rinā*, पद्मी पटेडी बाटविषया, st 9,
 Narasimharao Bholānāth)

મીઞ્યાં કરં કરં ઈઞ્યાં મયને અતન્દ્ર
મુખ્યા જુએ જઞ્ઞ રિયે તરતો જ ધન્દ્ર

(Ibid, મસ્યગન્ધા અને શામ્ભુ, st 23)

In lines, 1, 2, of the first *śloka* (which is a *યસન્તતિલકા*) the ણ is ણુ, in 1 3 ણ is ણુ, so is ણ in 1. 4. ણ in the same line is ણુ. In the second half-*śloka* the ણ of the first ણં (in 1 1) is ણ and that of the second ણં is ણુ, i. e. to say, they are to be pronounced long if ણ and short if ણુ

It may be noted that cases of this kind are more numerous as regards ણ than ણ, by the very nature of Gujarātī vocabulary

This feature in Gujarātī versification has its source far back in *Apabhramśa*, and perhaps in Sanskrit, verse construction. I say "perhaps" with regard to Sanskrit because the license allowed there is only with regard to the short value of a vowel preceding a conjunct consisting of a *ૠ* or *ૡ* (See Vol I of these Lectures p 408), and that too in later Sanskrit noted by Hemachandra. But we are directly concerned with the shortening of ણ, ઓ and ણ, ણ. And for this we have ample evidence in Prakrit works on Grammar and Prosody, thus

(I) Hemachandra lays down

(a) ણારિસ્યૈરોતોરણારણાપચમ ॥

(St He VIII-iv-410)

i. e. in *Apabhramśa* ણ and ઓ found in combination with consonants are generally sounded short

(b) પદાન્તે ણં ણં ણં ણં ણં ણં ણં ॥

(Udā VIII-iv-411)

At the end of words ણં, ણં, ણં, ણં are generally sounded short.

II. Hemachandra, in his work on Prosody, entitled *Clhando-nūṣaṇam*, tells us

પરોતી પદાન્તે પ્રાપ્તે દસી વા ॥

In *Prākṛit* ए and ओ at the end of words are sounded short optionally.

In the gloss he adds. "ई, हिं are already shown to be short in my work on Grammar, hence they are not repeated here"

III *Prākṛita-Paṅgala* lays down

जइ दीहोवि अ वण्णो छट्ट जीहा पदइ होइ सोवि छट्ट ।
वण्णो हि तुरिअपदिओ दो तिण्णि वि एक जाणेइ ॥

I-8

1. e A syllable, although long, is (to be regarded) short if the tongue pronounces it as short, (and) two or three syllables, pronounced quickly, should be regarded as one syllable

IV Mārkaṇḍeya, in his *Prākṛita-Sarasa* tells us —

इह छन्दोऽसुरोपेन वर्णानां गुरुत्वायम् ॥

XVII-8

Here (1 s in *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*) syllables are (interchangeably to be pronounced) long or short, according as the metre requires

Chronologically Hemachandra comes first, then the compiler of *Prākṛita Paṅgala*, and last comes Mārkaṇḍeya, whose rule marks a wider license than his predecessors

It may be noted that while, Gujarātī prosody follows the lines of *Prākṛit* and *Apabhraṃśa*, it does so restrictedly, and it does not permit the shortening of ए and ओ, unless we recognise Kavi Dala patarāma's questionable dictum as an authority, for he lays down

छयुगुरु छलिये नव गणो, उधारे ओळखाय.

(*Gujarātī Paṅgala*, chap. I-st 7)

Thus his test for syllabic quantity is, not the written form but, the heard sound. The shortened ओ in ओळखाय in this line is meant as an illustration. Obviously, the traditions of *Apabhraṃśa* versification cling to this writer, through his study of Hindi prosody and perhaps the comparatively modern work in Sanskrit named *Vānī*

*Bhūṣhaṇa*⁶² But Gujarāṭī prosody will not now tolerate this extreme license

Barring the license allowed by Hemachandra as regards the weak conjuncts in ॠ and ॡ failing to lengthen the preceding short vowel, Sanskrit prosody does not allow the license regarding shortening of ए and ओ or the weakening of the strong anuśrta for the sake of metre (This does not affect the case of the weak sounds in Vedic literature known as एगानुश्रुता noted in *Pāṇiniya Śikṣā*⁶³) I am therefore unable to see any Apabhramṣa tendency in versification, as Mr Keśavalāl H Dhruva sees, in Jayadeva's compositions. In fact he arbitrarily alters the text for no adequate reasons, and then erects for himself vulnerable points in Jayadeva's verse. I must cite chapter and verse to prove this. In his preface to the third edition of his graceful and charming translation of *Gita-Govinda* he has certain remarks on Jayadeva's verse;⁶⁴ he refers to the following lines in the text

(a) नयननलिनमिव विगलितनालम्, *Sarga* IV-14

(b) ह्यमति उल्लितमपि धाम, *Sarga* V-5

(c) बहु मउते तउते तउसंगतपवनचलितमपि रेणुम्, *Sarga* V-9

Now, Mr K H Dhruva deliberately alters the texts in these, and thus erects on them his theory that Jayadeva resorts to the weak anuśrta of the Prākṛit idiom. Thus

In (a) he alters नयन to नयने. His apparent reason is that the adjective विगलितनाल cannot very well go with the compound नयननलिन. This is plausible, no doubt, but that is not enough justification for creating a new text, नयने, and further importing the Prākṛit idiom of नयने when one can safely construe the phrase thus—

विगलितनालमिव नयननलिनम्,

62 एभो क्वचिन् प्राकृतरे एषू स्त । (*Ednī-Bhūṣhaṇa*, I 6)

63 See Vol. I of these Lectures pp 470-471. In I-1-18 Pāṇini recognises the weak ॠ

64 See pp 16-17, and 21-22 of that Preface.

though strict syntactical psychology would require निगलितनालं नलिन मित्रनयनं, such laxity of syntax being permissible as an exceptional weak point.

In (b) Mr Dhruva alters ललितमणि धाम into ललितधाम, and then imagines that it should be हलित धाम to fit it into his theory of Prākṛit influence. In thus manipulating the text, he forgets that the rhythm is lost in his alteration.

In (c), I do not know why he alters तनुते to ननु ते, but we are not concerned here with that. What is to the point is his arbitrary alteration of संगत into संगतै so that he may illustrate his pet theory of Prākṛit influence. In giving his reason for this change, he unconsciously refutes himself by perversion of emphasis in the ideas. He says तनुसंगत would look better as an adjective of रेणु rather than that of पवन, because the latter involves a roundabout connection and consequent exaggeration of ideas. In fact what he calls exaggeration is the very pith of the poet's idea. The grains of sand wafted by the breeze that has touched the body of Rīdhā are made much of by Krishna. The breeze vicariously invests the grains of sand with special and heightened association of value for her lover, Krishna. This apparently lengthened chain of contact is the value-enhancing feature, which does not bear the fault of exaggeration. To belittle the value of this idea and then create the weak *anuvṛtta* and try to prove an *a priori* theory, savours of a perverted process of reasoning.

There are some other cases of liberty taken with the text, which are not connected with the weak *anuvṛtta*, but which are manipulated in order to prove another Prākṛitism. Here they are,

(d) रातरसेसहस्रपरा इति पवनः प्रयच्छे || *Sarga* I-19.

(e) चरणकमलगतद्वन्द्वसिचमिदं तव हृदयप्रारमः | *Sarga* VIII-5

(f) मम हृदिरे चिह्ने कृत मानद मदतिगम्यनचामरे *Sarga* XII-22

In (d) here, Mr K. H. Dhruva wishes to read रातरसे for रातरसे and on this amended reading he bases the Prākṛitism of shortening the ए in the first सै of the word on metrical grounds. As a reason for his change of reading he makes the statement that if रातरसे were retained, the phrase रातरसेसहस्रपरा इति पवनः हृदयप्रारमः would

be meaningless as an adjective of रस, which simply represents a mental attitude. This objection ignores the alternative of taking रासरस in the लक्षणा sense of "a dance enjoyed heartily." True, रासरस does mean "a dance." But there is no need to take रस in its primary sense, when a लक्षणा can fit in the adjective ताल..... पेशे with the term रासरसे.

In (e) Mr K. H. Dhruva imagines that the अ of the रु in अलक has to be read as a short, and thus Jayadeva has resorted to a Prākṛitism here,—viz shortening of a vowel made *guru* by a subsequent conjunct. In this view, he forgets that the quantitative value of the whole line suffers, as it would then yield 27 *mātrās* instead of 28, which is the total quantity for every one of the other lines. And in fact the rhythm of the line does not suffer by reading रु as a *guru*, it reads thus

संढल ढटल ढट ढंगल गढल गलढ ङढल गंगल

वरण कमल गढ ङलक सिकमिदे तव ददयशराम

In (f) Mr K. H. Dhruva thinks that the short इ in सि of मनसिज has to be lengthened and this is a Prākṛitic license.

True, by reading मनसिज with a short सि there is a deficiency of one *mātrā*, assuming a uniformity of rhythm all through. Nevertheless I find that without lengthening the इ of सि the apparent absence of one *mātrā* is condoned by a new rhythm—संढल गलढ गलढा— which makes for variety and consequent charm. मनसिज घनचामर, besides, gives a very clumsy sound to the ear.

But we need not enter upon this defence of Jayadeva. For, in his very (combined) edition of *Gita Govinda* (with the Sanskrit *Gita Govinda* and his Gujarātī translation) Mr Dhruva gives the line with मानसजयज instead of मनसिजयज needlessly read (or altered ?) by him, and thus—मानस—secures the uniform rhythm, so dear to his heart. The यमक between मानद and मानस would show the true reading, in view of Jayadeva's fondness for such jingling. Mr Dhruva himself is not unaware of this. For, in a foot note at p. 17 of his Preface noted above, he says, "If we follow Chaitanya-dāsa and read मानस there is no need for doing this." [Doing what ? Altering the text and then reading a fault in it ?]

The upshot of the whole of the above scrutiny is that Jayadeva is needlessly, and wrongly, accused of violating the rules of Sanskrit prosody, and of adopting Prākṛit prosodial license for the sake of securing correct rhythm.

(E) Foreign Prosody; its relation to Gujarātī Prosody.

I have already briefly hinted, in connection with the *Gazal* type of composition, at the influence of Persian prosody. This foreign influence may be considered here further as regards the suitability or otherwise of importation of foreign prosodial forms in Gujarātī. Let me hasten to say that such foreign importation is unsuited to the genius of Indian Prosody. The reason is obvious. (Persian and English metres are the object of this discussion).

Persian metres do not like Gujarātī (or Sanskrit and derived) metres depend on the quantity of syllables, but on crude moulds which represent the aggregate value of groups of syllables. True, they speak of *मिमान* and *वमन* in this connection as determining the form of a metre. But that is different from the metre-determining factor in Gujarātī verse. I need not contrast this with Gujarātī forms I would refer you to Ramanābhāi Mahipatarāma's exhaustive and able discussion of this point in his essay on *छन्द अने प्राप्त*.⁶⁵ It may, however, be conceded that only some metrical forms in Persian coincide accidentally with our metres. Thus, the *सुजंगी* metre with its final syllable lopped off will agree with, say, the Persian form, found in lines like:—

करीमा बिछाएँ बरहाडेँमा

to the extent of aggregate quantity, not with 'every गण i. e. syllabic group; for the above line would scan thus—

दगागा दगागाउ ददगा दगा

whereas *सुजंगी* would be

दगागा दगागा दगागा दगा [गा].

65. *Karṣid-ane-Sāhitya*, Vol. I, pp. 117-158.

ENGLISH METRE

Gujarāṭī metre differs still more in its essence from English metre. The reason is obvious. English metre, at least modern English metre, is based on the position of accent in words, whereas Gujarāṭī metre depends for its form on quantity of syllables. Consequently any attempt to introduce English metre in our prosody is bound to be a ridiculous failure, as in the case of some attempts made at one time by Christian Missionaries. I need not cite instances, as this part of the discussion is merely incidental here. However, a brief inquiry into the principle of accent will be enlightening in this connection. In an interesting article,⁶⁶ J. D. Anderson, mentions three kinds of accent

(1) Accent of force (i. e. stress)

(2) Accent of acuity (i. e. pitch)

and (3) Accent of duration (i. e. quantity)

These divisions are intelligent and intelligible, but in his further treatment Mr J. D. Anderson mixes up these divisions, and word-accent and phrase-accent and *cæsuræ* are jumbled together in a hopelessly unintelligible manner. However, we are concerned with these main divisions, especially the contrast between (1) accent of force and (3) accent of duration. It is interesting to find that "the chief principle in ancient (European) verse was quantity, i. e. the amount of time involved in the effort to express a syllable. Accordingly, the two basal types which lie at the foundation of classical metre are "longs" and "shorts". The convention was that a long syllable was equal to two short ones The value of these feet (in ancient metre) was defined with exactitude, not left uncertain, as it is in modern European verse, where accent is almost always made the guiding principle. In Greek verse there might be an *æcúus* (stress) which fell upon the long syllable, but it could only be a regulating element and accent was always a secondary element in the construction of Greek metre."⁶⁷

66 "Accent and Prosody in Bengali etc." J. R. A. S. 1913, p. 857

67. Encyclopædia Britannica, XIth Edition, Vol. 27, p. 1042 d

This principle of quantity gave place later on to accent, and yet occasionally even in accent-ridden versification, quantity or a principle akin to it, peeps out occasionally. Let me quote once more

"Modern Versification"—The main distinction between classical and modern versification consists in the negligence shown by the length or shortness of the sound of syllables as determined by the time required to pronounce them. This dimension of sound was rigid in the case of Greek and Latin poetry until, in what is known as the middle Greek period, there came in a general tendency to relax the exact value of sounds and syllables and to introduce *accent* which is a measure of quality rather than quantity. A syllable in modern verse is heavy or light according as it receives stress from the voice or not. In the word "tulip" for instance, the syllables are of equal length, but the accent is strongly upon the first. It is mainly a question of force with us, not of time, as with the ancients. There is however an element of quantity in modern verse as there is of accent in ancient verse." Please mark this statement. "The foot in modern verse takes a less prominent place in itself than it did in Greece and is regarded more in relation to the whole line of which it makes a part. A mere combining of syllables is useless. In Milton's

"From haunted spring and dale,
Edged with poplar pale,"

an ancient scholiast would have found it impossible to discover any harmony, for he would have had no means of measuring the value of the heavy accent on "edged" followed by a pause, and would have demanded another syllable in the second line to turn the whole into verse."⁶⁸

These views are echoed in a short compass by the compiler of the Century Dictionary under *Mora* and *Time*. "*Mora* (plur. *Morae*)—(L. delay) In ancient prosody the unit of time equivalent to the ordinary or normal short, the secondary or primary time."

⁶⁸ Encyclopædia Britannica, Xth Edition, Vol 27, pp 1044d and 1045a.

It will be seen that *mona* exactly corresponds to our *mātrā*.

Under *Time* we find more light—

"(In pros.) Relative duration of utterance as measuring composition, a unit of rhythmic measurement, or a group or succession of such units.

"In modern or accentual poetry the relative time of utterance of successive syllables is not recognised metrically. Every syllable may be considered as quantitatively common or indifferent in time, the only difference taken into account being that of stress or accent (ictus) and the number of syllables alone introducing the idea of measurement. In ancient prosody a unit of time is assumed (varying in actual duration according to the tempo), called the primary or least (minimum) time, also *semion*, *mona*, or specifically, a time "

This is the relative position of quantity and quality in Western prosody. Exceptionally, quantity makes occasional sallies into the realm of qualitative poetry, a fact noticed incidentally above in the second extract from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. I may illustrate this—

"Where the sunset seems to fire the tall pine-trees as they
away "

x x x x x

"(*The Water-Nymphs*, ' by Mrs Salway in "*Ta' and West*,"
November 1918, page 1231)

In this line the syllable "tall" is to be lengthened so as to cover the time taken up by two syllables, "talling" would be equal to "tall" here in time-measure. This trick, most probably an unintentional stroke of inspiration, symbolizes the sense of tallness of the pine-trees by the double time, covered by the single syllable, tall."

I give one instance more—

"Nay, keep thy pearls,

I need none, for Love's pearl once more is mine "

("The Pearl Tree" by R. C. Trevelyan. Last scene, last lines).

Here the scanner is—

"I' need none', for Love's' pearl' once more' is mine'." The foot "Love's pearl" requires a quantity equal to, say, "true Love's pearl", but the increase of quality in "Love's pearl" is intended to suit the sense and so we have to read the two syllables as three, dwelling on "Love's" long enough to cover two *morae*.

However, this principle of *mātrā*, *per se* is not recognised in English versification

This being the radical difference between our prosody and English prosody all attempts made by some modern Gujarātī poets to introduce blank verse into Gujarātī poetry, must, and do, end in virtual failure, so also do the attempts at adopting English moulds like the sonnet. They betray an ignorance of the essential difference noted above and of the true structure of blank verse and the sonnet.

My object in entering into this question of Gujarātī Prosody is to present its picture in its true perspective and orientation so that in view of its history and evolution, we can at once see that whatever innovations individual poets may bring out must be in harmony with the traditions, growth and genius of Gujarātī versification, and any unnatural breaking with them is bound to result in incongruities and absurdities which the critical ear of experts must resent. I hope I have succeeded in accomplishing this object within the limits of an incidental discussion.

I shall now pass on to my next and last lecture dealing with the whole range of my subject retrospectively and the present and future of our language and literature

APPENDIX A.

SO CALLED GARABI ATTRIBUTED TO NARASINHA MKHTA.

(see p. 279 *supra*)

વટુ તુહને વારું રે જારું મીં જલ મરવા ॥
નંદરુંભર નાંવહીઆ સાથે રહે રહેતી મોઝ કરવા ॥
પ છે વાલો તું છે મોરી વટુમર પોને ન મઠિયે રે ।
મનસા વાવા કટુંછું તુમને માંજતમાંપી ઢલીય ॥ વહ૦ ॥
પ છે કાદાનહો વામળવારો વાંઈ પક વામળ કરશે રે ॥
મેહેલી પારું પૂઠજ જારું પીનદું તે તાદરું દરશે રે ॥ વહ૦ ॥
વટુમર કહે સાધ્વજી અગલ્યું દું શિરને તિશં જાઈ રે
મરસૈઆવા રવાપી સરઘી દું નિરઝજ નહીં પાઝ રે ॥ વટુમર ॥

(These lines were copied from a manuscript (of loose leaves) in the possession of Mr. Naṭavarnīl I. Desai of the "Gujarātī Press")

SUPPLEMENT

LECTURE V (Section I)

P. 5 After l 3 Add -

In the *critica* of VIII-iv-425 Hemachandra says केहि etc. should be employed (प्रयोक्तव्या) to express तादर्थ्यं If Apabhramśa had been a living language in Hemachandra's time he would have said प्रयुज्यन्ते

P 16 l 4 add -हेज (for हेत) in his translation of *Gita-Govinda*

P. 33, at the end of para 2 under (b) add प्राप्ति is used in Gujarati in the sense of प्दधि (=इतिवृत्ति.) e. g. हेनामा ऊडी प्राप्ति नथी (or प्दधि नथी). This would incidentally support the derivation of प्दधि from प्राप्

P. 55 After reason (b) in the middle, add आवे तो छे, आवे ज छे, forms like these, by the position of तो and ज being wedged in between the verb and छे may be cited against my view, for, terminations like चे (future) will not admit of such wedging in My answer to this is

True, such wedging in militates against छे being a complete termination, but in view of the fact that the psychological position of छे favours the termination theory, the exceptional feature of the wedged in expletives must be regarded as due to a reminiscence of the original state of छे as an independent verb.

P. 59 n At the end add

Mr Kefavalal H Dhruva (notes on *Bhāṭana's Kādambarī Pūrcābhāga*, p. 207 and p. 213) says that this ने is for अर्थनी स्पष्टता (making the sense clear) and is derived from Pr. णई (अवधारणार्थ) found in Si He, Var-n-184 I do not agree with that view Just see this in Bhāṭana's *Kādambarī, Pūrcā Bhāga*, p 12, l. 17

वैतुष दूर तु समिद्धमी यदि जनि सावधान.

पाणिनि here furnishes a conclusive answer to K. H. Dhruva's

theory. Compare also जोई कष्ट तमारं ने भुंनानि कये काय. (Vallabha, Kuntiprasannākhya, st. 74) where the dissociated ने is partially significant.

P. 72. On G. कर्ष जाय नहि in para last but one, put as foot-note:

This is as old as *Apabhṛ*; see Si. He. VIII-iv-350, illustration अकलणउ न जाइ where अकलणउ is not quite the past participial form, but न जाइ is the form in point.

See also VIII-iv 441 instance, भुंजणहि न जाइ (भोक्तुं न याति).

P. 74. After instance (7) add:—

(8) ते तेही पूछया छरताणि (*Kūṇhadade-Prabandha*, II-11)

P. 95. After (f) add:

Dayārāma.

(f)-1 पेठा हरिव दैत्यशा चापा रे.

(*Garabī ane pada Sangraha; pada, 75, st. 2*).

Dhīro—

(f)-2 कोरा घट्टशी काया रही (*Scarūpa, Gurūvarūpa*, XII-2)

(f)-3 रत्ता हारी जनकशा भूप (*Ibid, Mdyā-Scarūpa*, XXIX-2)

(f)-4 रत्ता रामशा रोई (*Ibid-3*)

(f)-5 कपेर मंडारोदो करीदे तेने

(*Ibid, Trishṇā Scarūpa* XXIV-3)

Vallabha (f)-6 रिगू गजनो स्वामी नामी कपूरशो

(*Kurli-prasannākhya*, st. 59)

P. 98

After (e) add:

(f) अमपर साध नणदरी साठ ।

नरतेयाया स्वामी न करो भाळ ॥

(From a MS. in the possession of Mr. Naṣavaralal I. Desai of the Gujarātī Press).

P. 100 After l. 5 add:

गिरमार देवके पाटन मरो

(*Harījaya Sīri, Desai: Bhūmāḍ, VI-1*)

Also જોખણ ઢાલજિ રેવકાં (*Vimala-prabandha*, 1-26)

(ઢ is found as a genitive termination only in *Kānhaḍade-Prabandha*, in three places:

આખ્યાં રઢ ઉંદરલા તીર (III-147)

ઠતારી ઉંદરલા તીર (III-231)

(IV-29 has ઉંદર નામ તલારઢ which shows that ઢા is a termination).

જોવ જિણાલાં ઢામ વિચાલ (IV-23)

P. 102. After (b) add

(b)-1 પાસાદલ ગુર્જ ઢિર (Ibid, II-137)

P. 107. At the end of the page, add footnote on "comparison" in line 3 from the bottom; as under:—

Contrast the use of સરલું (= in close touch 'with') o. g. ઢાતી સરલું. માઈ સરસી પાલી માય. (*Vimala-prabandha*, 11-4) where સરસી=સપ્તિ with, સરલું is from સરલ. In the case of પારિ (પાર્થ) juxta-position leads to the idea of comparison, whereas in the case of સરલું the idea of comparison leads to the idea of juxta-position or vicinity.

P. 112. After (m) add:

(n) હું આવિર તમ કરિવા ખજી

(*Vimala-prabandha*. II-47)

P. 115. After (g) add:

(g)-1. ન કો અંગરલ જમલુ રલ (Ibid, I-24)

(g)-2. તાદરિ જમલિ (Ibid, I-147)

(g)-3. મૂરતિ પાંચ પદ્મ લિંગધી

હઢી તાલ જમલી કો નધી (Ibid-252)

In (g)-2 મજલિ may mean "equal", in (g)-3, જમલી certainly means "equal",

P. 117. end of para 2. add:

The instance (g)-3 given just above (supplement on p. 115) is the one in point.

P. 128 n 98, After (c) add

(d) एक बाहुं शृष मागिये रे, के छत के प्रासाद

(*Hiranyaka-sûtra Rîsa*), p. 97, st. 129)

Kinhadule-Pralandha shows this idiom, of course using वः for the modern वे.

(1) कइ सोनगिर पाल्हु प्राणि, कइ अन्न आपुष नास्तु (II-77)

(2) ऐह भेटि कहू मिलग आवे, कहू पुरखारथ बाबू

कइ ताइरुं भटपण जाणीसिइ घर आपणपूं राखे. (I-116)

P. 136 Before the Note in the last line all

(h) माउरु पेदि पइसीना

(*Bharata* a-*dhātvanīlā* edited by Dr Hertel), p. 41, last line)

here is the genitive termination र+ञ् (loc of क).

Dr Hertal has misunderstood this मातु पेदि (= मूर्ध्नि) प्रतिदिपते in the sense, he has rendered it thus मा (= मातु) वरह (= in the chest (वर), पेदि (= in the stomach), पद् (= in the foot), and सन्निध (= is accomplished)

P. 137 After (o) add

(c) 1

कहि रे श्यामा शा भजी नयणि भरि छि नीर

(Ibid., p. 40, l. 16)

LECTURE V (SECTION II)

P. 144 After (3) under (a) add

Note In *Harṣaśanānīkhyāna* attributed to Premānanda we find अ ending for अ even in the nominative singular एह प्रत्ययाना एह साता *haday* 0. 27. st 4

P, 153 After (g) a ld

(d)-1 सापतणे वदितान्यो जैत (Ibid, LXVII-46)

(g)-2 સત્રી સુગલ મલિક તણે સમસાવિયા રે
(Ibid, XXVIII-21)

(2)-3 હીરતણે રમ માલે સોય (Ibid, XXIX-4)

(g)-4 અનાથ તણે નવિ હજવો (Ibid, p. 89, st. 31)

A significant light is thrown by the use of કે (dative) similarly, e g-

પાદશાહકે જડ માર્યો ગાઠ
(Hiravjaya-Rāsa, XXVII-12)

P. 178. In the instances under class (a) add

After છાતું માતું add ઠાઠમાઠ;

After નહું સહું add વઘું સઘું; સ્હેજ સાજં;

સયું સાગયું; (સર્ગા સાગર્ગા રે

(Hariśchandrâkhyāna, XXII-21)

(in Prâchīna Kāvya Mâlâ)

After વાતધીત add

મોઝમટોઝ;

(મટોઝ may be traced to વર્તુલ (Slr) Cf M. વાટોઝ),

બની ઢની; ઝપાદો પુપાદો; શોઢી પોઢી । (શોઢી પોઢી પીપઢ પાન ।

ફોરફ પાઢયું મંગલ નામ ॥ formula used by ladies when naming a child on the 12th day) અઢયું પઢયું; ફૂંચો પૂંચો; ઢોંચો પોંચો; અંધા ધુંધી;

ધુંધી may be traced to ધ્વાન્ત (Slr), ફેરફાર.

Under Class (b) add

અરલ બદલ; અરલા બદલી; અટાપટા; ટાપટીપ; સરસામાન; કરકસર.

Under (c) add.

પૂઠપ ધાળી; રૂપિયો રોટો, ધરવાર; પાટપટ; રાંધવું શીધવું.

[Note) In ધામધૂમ; સમસામ, ધૂંવા ધૂંવા both the members are apparently meaningless, "apparently" because ધૂંવા can be traced to ધૂમ, સમ to સૌમ્ય, and પામ to પાવ્ to run.]

P. 180, Before the para on Spelling Reform insert the following

[Note Of a different type is the idiom which duplicates words (as in Skt द्विरुच Chapter) The traditional significance of द्विरुच is वीप्सा which covers in Gujarātī, a number of senses, e g घેર ઘેર (=in every house), and this sense evolves other significations, e g intensity, as in ચોર યોર જેવડા આઉ વર્ત્યા, દાપ દાપ ઝટ્ઝટો and the like I do not mean forms like સપ સપીને where the first member changes from સપી to સપ, or આવ આવઈ type where the first member, આવઈ drops its ઈ suffix These are a proper subject for a grammatical treatise But there is one sense which is peculiar to Gujarātī, it is the sense of fictions or imaginary assumption, e g ઘોડા ઘોડા રમિયે, નિયાઝ નિયાઝ રમિયે (cf English-playing horses, tigers, etc)]

P 185 After 1 4 add (5) વિદિદિથા ડપના દન

(Bhalana-kadambarī, I p 116, l 17)

(6) ઇત્યાશ અંબરથો આવે (Akho Anubhava binlu, -St 7)

(7) કયાંયો કયાંયે જાય (Ibid 17)

P 185 I before III, after (6) under II add

(6) ફદ જીવઈ ઉરતાળ કિ ફદ રજ જીવઈ માલદે.

(IV-167)

P 186 IV After 5 lines odd' જમરાને બોલારો, ન્હારને પાળી આપો etc, these are distinguishable because of the infinitive form, the underlying basis is, however, similar, meaning ને માટે.

IV. After અહીં સુગપને ગયા add શકે તે નઝ વિદિને આપ્યા

(Nalākhyāna, XXII-9)

બેટી દમયંતી શીઝ ગુંપાવડા, સ્વયંવરને હાંતરી ધાવા.

(Ibid, XX 2)

LECTURE VI.

P. 215 n 44 Add માગ્નય રાતે ધીજલડી ચમકે is a version found in a piece almost similar to the above (with the name of Mirābāi in the last line) in a modern play entitled *Rājā Sambhōjī*

P 252 Ratneśvara Add, his being a pupil of Premānanda has been called into question It is, however, an open question yet.

P 257 After the paragraph ending "its sublimity does not suffer ' thereby ' add

(Note This traditional conception is seen reflected down in later times, see Dayārāma

પ્રતિરોમ જે મહાપુરુષ બ્રહ્મ, બ્રહ્માણ્ડ કોટિ અનંત.

(*Rasika Vallabha*, XII, 4)

Page 274 On the sentence—"the poetry of Akho is not as easy to understand as he imagines"—add the following foot note

Akho has પડે નહિં જે પૃથ્વી સુઘે, કને નહિં તે કદો શુ સુઘે? Rev Mr Scott has rendered this apparently by quoting from Bunyan's "Song of the Shepherd Boy in the Valley of Humiliation" the lines. "He that is down need fear no fall He that is low no pride". But even as a case of correspondence the latter part fails to be a true reflection Hence my comment

Page 279. n. 57, As regards હો add

I find this હો in *Aśoka-Rohini-Rāsa* (V S 1772) *ghāṭā* No 2 This can hardly prove that it existed in Narsinha Mehta's time three centuries before this *Rāsa*. Nay, it would go against Mr Chhaganlal's view

LECTURE VII.

The Future Tendency of Gujarātī Language and Literature.

We have attempted till now a laborious journey through the tangled forest of the past, cast a hurried glance at the present, and let us venture now to peep into the future, so far as it is granted to human intellect and imagination to do. I propose in this, the last of the series of my Lectures, to do this. No one can see the future in a distinct and full-shaped state, all that is possible is to have a glimpse of it in the light of the past and the present and note which way the stream of things tends to flow. It is this future tendency of Gujarātī Language and Literature that I wish to examine in this lecture. To enable us to fulfil this undertaking properly it will be necessary and useful to cast a quick glance at what we have considered in the last six Lectures.

At the outset we discussed the influences affecting the Evolution of Language. We noted that language was a subtle subject eluding the careful investigator, that the position of the investigator of language was similar to that of an investigator of the physical and other sciences. He has to test, reject, accept, generalize, he is guided by the light of reason, and occasionally by the flash of inspiration. We marked that the influences working on language were extrinsic and intrinsic, the former consisting of historical forces as moulding the life of the people, life being but expressed and symbolized in language, and also consisting of geographical conditions, while the latter comprise phonetic forces. In considering historical forces affecting Gujarātī we specially noticed the similarity between Greece and India in the matter of foreign influence. We passed in rapid survey the various races that came into contact with Gujarāt,—the Mauryas, the Greeks, the Trakōtakas, the Abhiras, the Valabhis, the Rāshtrakōtas, the Mastrakas, the Chavadas, and the Gurjars as

represented by the Solankis, i. e. the Chaulukyas, then the Mussalmāns and lastly the Marāthās. We compared the influence of the early i. e. pre Mahomedan foreigners, with that of the Mussalmāns and saw that the early foreigners were absorbed in the local population and thus their influence on the language affected the intrinsic genius of it, whereas the Mussalmāns, in spite of occasional racial unions and religious conversions, remained detached from the people, and their original language Persian—affected but the externals of the Gujarātī language, in the shape of an inflow of Persian and Arabic words, which words, we noticed, passed through the operation of the same phonetic forces which governed the mutation of words in their transit from Sanskrit and Prakrit into Gujarātī, thus the वित्त ए and ओ sounds mark the words derived from Persian and Arabic as much as those coming from Prakrit, the formation of the ओ and ई endings of noun-stems in the case of words coming from Persian and Arabic was, in a way, similar to that of words coming from Sanskrit and Prakrit, the only difference being that the ऋ termination was not responsible in the former case as in the latter. In contrast with the Mussalmān contact we observed the effects of the Marāthī connection with Gujarātī and explained the limited influence exercised by it—by the absenteeism of the Marāthā rulers and their army, their face being turned more towards the centre in the Deccan than towards the circumference in Gujarāt. Finally, we cast a casual glance at the infusion of Portuguese words into our language which was not to be neglected, limited though it was in nature and volume. We also noticed how the geographical conditions of Gujarāt affected the language, both in its vocabulary and its physical constitution.

In examining the most important one out of the three kinds of influences,—viz. the Phonetic Forces we first established the general principles that should guide us in our inquiry these were—

(1) Historical consistency.

In applying this principle we saw the incorrectness of derivations like तम्रकूट for तमाकू.

(2) Rejection of mere external similarity.

- Under this principle we rejected as incorrect the derivation of अपीण from अदिपेन, of सुपरो from सु+पारो (instead of the correct derivation from शुप्=to purify, to clear), of विनति from विनति (instead of the correct derivation from विमृति-विष्णुर्ता), and the like
- (3) The avoiding of artificiality of derivation. Under this we instance ल विषय and दम्पती, the former being wrongly analyzed into वि+षय and the latter into दम् as a transformation of जाया+पति, when we have the Vedic दम्='a house' to account for the word fittingly
- (4) पीजलायव, i. e. brevity of principle as preferable to क्रमलायव, i. e. brevity of steps

A prominent instance out of several under this principle was examined by us—viz न्हाउ derived from दृष्टव्य. We saw that this single Sanskrit word through its two alternative Apobhramśa forms लण्डउ and सण्डउ gave us the final evolutes in as many as five languages, viz न्हाउ (G), ल्हाउ (M), सण्ही (Sindhi), सण्ज (Kanarese), and लण (Konkani)

We also saw that क्रमलायव in the false derivation of वारण्य (वायण्य) from वारणक which no doubt requires only one step, viz. the change of व to व, was the wrong principle, whereas the Sanskrit द्वार which gives द्वार to Marāṭhi and वार and वारण्य (through वार+इ changed to ण्य) to Gujarāṭi follows पीजलायव as the correct guide

- (5) Historical order.—Under this we saw the desirability and necessity of recognizing the Prakrits as an intermediate step between Sanskrit and the present vernaculars. Thus लज्ज, प्रगट &c. were seen to be proper words in preference to लज्ज, प्रगट, and other needlessly pedantic forms. We also saw the correctness of deriving words like वाम साय &c. through the Prakrit steps वम्म, सण्य &c., and not direct from वयं, सयं &c.
- (6) Actual use in language.

This principle guided us in accepting उच्छिष्टकं as the original of अजीष्टं (Guj.),—it being actually used in Manusmṛiti,—in preference to उत्सृष्टकं which is not found in use in Sanskrit in that sense.

Lastly—(7) Conditions sufficient for generalization.

In considering this principle we distinguished between the demands of physical sciences—which required, *as a rule*, a very large number of particular cases to deduce a general rule from them, and the limitations of philology which could not always strictly follow that principle, very often a few instances, and some times a single instance, being enough for marking a phonetic operation. The only side test will be the support obtainable from other permanent principles and degrees of probability, the general principle being that paucity of particular instances should, as a rule, be regarded as a reason for caution.

In the light of this principle, we saw that the derivation of अवन्तु (Guj.) from अभिनवकं (Sanskrit) through a transitional change of व to व्ह was to be accepted, although this was a single instance of व changed to व्ह, because this change is rendered probable by the phonetic affinity between व and व्ह, the splitting up of व into व and ह, and the aspiration of the stronger member in a mixed aexus by the aspirate ह, and the reverse process was seen in जीम (Guj.) from जिह्म (Sanskrit). The direct relation of व्ह to व्ह was also seen in the remarkable correspondence between (Sk.) छद् to “desire” and English “love”—(Lat. libet=it pleases).

We next noticed the general principles which govern phonetic change:—

viz. (a) phonetic decay,

(b) false analogy,

(c) simplification,

and (d) economy of effort

We marked two kinds of phonetic decay (1) natural and (2) artificial, and we saw, as causes of natural phonetic decay, four main factors,—

(1) अज्ञान, (2) वेग, (3) अनभ्यास, and (4) जिह्वादोष

In considering this set of principles we observed that, while on the one hand the partially aspirated consonants in *वर्द्ध, वर्द्ध, वर्द्ध* etc., the broad (विटृत) sounds of ए and ओ in the *मैद्ध* and *कटि* types, and other features in Gujarati do not represent artificial phonetic changes, as they can be brought under fixed philological laws, reading *क-हे-छे* with a strong ह or वे छे without न ह, on the other hand are really artificial pronunciations.

Under जिह्वादोष we noticed the defective pronunciation of the cerebrals as dentals, and the pronunciation of the मूर्धन्यतर ह and ङ as र (r) and ङ्ग (rh) by Western races, the interchange of न and ण by some Ilanias and other classes, and the defective vocality of the class represented by the Parsi who had to ask whether he should write दादाभाईनो दरी or दोसाभाईनो दरी (really दोसाभाईनो दरी)

Instances of *False Analogy* are given by Dr Bhândarkar in his *Philological Lectures*, under simplification, we noticed the case of अट्टङ्ग a form not sanctioned by Vararuchi, who confines it to the forms of the first and second persons and gives अरिय for the third person singular, but which came into currency later on to secure uniformity with अट्टसि, अट्टामि &c.

Economy of Effort was seen by us to underlie the change of ऐ and औ in Sanskrit to short ए and ओ in Pali, and the assimilation of dissimilar consonants forming conjuncts (e.g. त्त to च, च्य to च्ण, च्य to च्च etc.)

We then went at length into the specific phonetic principles working in the evolution of Gujarati. We saw *utargas* that were peculiar to Gujarati alone, e.g. (a) the change of अय, अय (and अङ्ग, अङ्ग through अय, अय by प्रतिसप्रसारण) into the विटृत ए and ओ, which we compared and contrasted with the Pali short ए and ओ (where the element of broad sound was very latent), and with the Bangali sound of अ as आ, which, however, is slightly and peculiarly different from the विटृत sound in Gujarati, (b) the ओ and ई endings of nouns, as contrasted with the अ ending in the same original words (e.g. हापो, हाय, दरो, पद, पार्त, पान, वर्यु, वर) being dependent on

the attachment of the termination क to preserve the final vowel from corrosion in consequence of loss or shifting of accent, and (c) the change of a non-final इ or उ to अ

Then we examined one important *utsarga*, shared partially with Hindi, viz the position of ह्रस्व in Gujarâti words in three forms —

(1) Shifting of the ह्रस्व towards the beginning of a word,

(2) interpolation of an extraneous ह्रस्व,

and (3) the loss of an existing ह्रस्व,

as in (1) भगिनी-बहिणी-बहन,

गमीरकं—गहीरकं—घेरुं;

इष्णकं—उष्णकं—हुतं;

and in (2) प्राप्तकं—पत्तकं—पद्मि (through Ap. पद्म)

पाशक.—पासक—पासो,

अशपि—अजपि—हजी,

and in (3) चिन्हं—चेन्हं—चन;

विहलकं—विहलकं—वीलुं;

पुपिका—अदिआ—अर्द्ध;

शृङ्खला—सखला—सांकळ.

In this connection we saw that ह्रस्व existed either as a संकर (as in घेरुं, हुतं etc.) or as a समृद्धि (as in बहन etc)

We also noticed a solitary instance of the reverse process of the change of a ह्रस्व to a class aspirate in गुफा from (Skr) गुहा, and in that connection we considered the theory that ह्रस्व as a pure aspirate did not exist in pre-Vedic and to some extent in Vedic times, that it was evolved out of the class aspirate at a later stage, as evidenced by the root गृह् corresponding to classical Sanskrit गृह्, and the latent factors like दुह्, लिह् नह् etc in forms like दुग्ध, लीह्, नह् &c pointing to old obsolete roots दुह्, लिह्, नह् &c as unknown predecessors of दुह्, लिह्, नह् &c. of classical and even Vedic Sanskrit.

Finally we looked into some *utsargas* shared by Gujarâti jointly with some other vernaculars, e. g

(a) The softened nasal (कोमल अनुस्वार) which we traced from *Apabhramśa*, where it first sprung into being, as in कर्कश, मर्दर, दहि, तहि, जिहि, तुच्छट, तेणह, &c., while its further development was seen in the वधादिगण and similar sets of words with a strong nasal in *Prākṛit* and *Apabhramśa* softening the nasal and lengthening the preceding vowels on the principle of balancing of quantity, as in यत्रकंयकठं-वाहुं, सन्ध्या-संसा सास &c.

We noted that the *anuvāsa* of a long vowel in *laddhara* words was कोमल, e g in काठो, वीडो, पूछहुं, खिचहुं, सीपहुं, &c.; that at the end of a *laddhara* word the *anuvāsa* was कोमलतर as in दहि, अहि etc.; that after a short vowel inside a word it was कोमलतर, e g कुंवारो, कुंवल, &c., and that after a final व in *laddhara* words (being a mark of the neuter gender or of the first person singular present tense of verbs) it was कोमलतम, e g हुं, सार, पाहु, भाहुं, ग्राहुं, &c.

As regards the कोमलतम *anuvāsa* after a final व in *laddhara* words we observed that it is strongish in Surat and Broach districts and Kāthiāvāda, it is middling strong, or weak, in Ahmedabad district and round about, and weakest almost to a vanishing point, in Charotar. We compared this with a similar treatment of this *anuvāsa* in Marāṭhī, the Kōkana sounding it strongish and the Deśa weak.

(b) The *Prākṛit* or sibilant sound of च, छ, ज, झ, which we find everywhere in Gujarāt, under certain definable rules, except in Surat and Broach where it is always a Sanskrit sound

We noted its presence in Marāṭhī (which has it a little more marked than in Gujarātī), in Maravādī (which has it extra strong), in Panjābī (which has it in a limited way) as also in Bangālī, in Kāsh mī (the principal one amongst the Pāñcābī vernaculars) and in Bhūtīa, we perceived the influence of this sibilant sound in the change of च to स as also in Burmese (e g सन्दा the moon for चन्दा), and in Sinhalese (as in सज्जवाल for चज्जवाल). We gathered from this state of things that while, as Mr. Leames believes, Dravidian influence accounts for this sibilant sound in Marāṭhī, its presence in Gujarātī and other vernaculars in the North was traceable to Mongol

influence, Kāshmiri, Bhutia, Bangālī, and Burmese obviously being thus affected, while the languages influenced by the Gurjaras owe the sound to the Mongol trace in the Gurjaras, the old time Khazars,—who, though of a different stock from the Huns, were in close contact with them, the Huns as their physical appearance described by Gibbon shows, being distinctly Mongol in type

(c) the मूर्धन्यतर sound of L—1 e. ङ

We traced the course of this in Vedic phonology, of course in a very restricted manner, in Pāli, and in the present day Bhīl language of Marutha—a tract in Rājpiplā territory, the ङ in these languages being an evolute of an intervocalic ङ (मूर्धन्यतर of course), then in Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Māravāḍī, and Paisāchī (among the old Prākṛits), the ङ in these languages being an evolute of an intervocalic ङ, and we perceived a Paisāchī influence in the case of this ङ in our present day vernaculars, and possibly in the Vedic speech.

(d) अस्वरितप्रथमश्रुतिलोप (Aphæresis and Apheresis)

The dropping of an unaccented initial syllable,

e. g.

वदविशति—.....वदमह— वसे

वपाद्याय—ववज्जाओ.....ओसो.

अपत्यकं—अवयवं.....वच्छुं.

सहयकं—सहयवं—रोछुं.

(as in घंटा रोखो इतं छं काढे ?)

This principle is shared by Gujarātī in common with several languages, Hindi in particular. It can be traced back to Prakrit which has only two instances (अरण्य and अलावु changed to रण्य and लावु), and (possibly in a latent form) Sanskrit also which has पूष and अपूष meaning a particular kind of cake, the former being a later form resulting from the loss of the unaccented initial in the latter.

- (e) Lastly, we dwell on the *utsarga* about संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व—the simplification of a conjunct accompanied by the lengthening of the preceding vowel:—

o. g वर्म—कम्म—काम

सर्व—सत्त्व—साप

दृष्टव—दिदृक्षे—दीदृ

मुत्तव—मुक्कडे मूरुपुं

āca, āca āca

This principle, we saw, was as old as Hemachandra's Grammar where दाहिण given as a ready made *śloka* of दक्षिण can really be accounted for by the following changes through which the word must have passed, imperceptibly and potentially, viz

दक्षिण—दासिण—दाहिण.

We went further back as far as Pāṇini and saw the principle lying latent in his *sūtra*—

द्रोपे वस्य दीर्घोऽण.

(VI-III).

(read with दोदोपे VIII-III-13 and रोदि VIII-III-14), whereby we note दृ+प् (त) = दृ+ट = दृट āca, and दि+स्व = दीस्व.

This *uṣṛpa* has been of great use to us in our present inquiry as amongst several tests for fixing the relative progress and periods of Gujarātī language and literature this was the most important and almost invariably unailing and conclusive test.

We then surveyed historically the evolution of Gujarātī language, and, applying the tests of (1) distinctive features discovered in the phonetic survey just described, (2) the analytical or synthetical stages through which the language seemed to pass, and (3) special words like રત્ત, રેતિ etc peculiar to particular periods, we watched the shading off of the language from one period into another, noting these periods as under—

Pre-Gujarātī

Apabhraṃśa

upto 1100 V S or thereabouts,

Middle Apabhraṃśa

upto V S 13th century,

अन्तिम i. e. later Apabhraṃśa V. S 13th Century to V S 1550.

Gujarātī

Early Gujarātī	V S 1550 to V S 1650,
Middle Gujarātī	V. S 1650 to V S 1750,
Modern Gujarātī	V S 1750 and after

I specially emphasized the fact that this division into periods did not imply water-tight partitions. In the very nature of things, language must be like a vast canvas in which the colors gradually shade off from one part to another.

Finally, we took a bird's eye view of the literature of Gujarāt, from the time of Narasinha and Mīrā down to Dayārāma who died only 64 years ago, exactly 64 years ago, almost to a day from today, § he having breathed his last on the 9th of February 1853. I drew your attention to the fact that, although the name, Gujarāta, was found in Al Beruni's *Indica* (A D 1030), it referred—not to our present day Gujarat, but to a province in Rajputānā, that the name Gujarata as applied to our province did not find place in our literature long before the 15th century A D, and that the name Gujarātī for the language of this province is not met with much earlier than 1730 A. D. I also accentuated distinctively the fact that, although Narasinha and Mīrā did not begin the Gujarātī language, they may be accepted as having begun Gujarātī literature. We therefore began our literary survey with these two poets. Our survey covered four periods:

- (1) From Mīrā and Narasinha upto Nakara, i. e. 15th century of the Vikrama era to the middle of the 17th century,
- (2) The literary blank supposed to have existed between Padma nabha and Akho, which, as recent research has shown, was not a blank, poets like Karmana, Kefava, Bhālana Bhīma Lavanyasamaya, Ganapati and others flourished during the period, thus we have this second period,
- (3) The period of Akho, Tulasi, Viśvanātha Jāni, Premānanda and Samala V S 1670 to V S 1820

§ This Lecture VII was delivered on the 11th February 1916

and (4) Vallabha and others, other minor poets, Jain poets, poets of the Svāminārāyaṇa sect, endlog with the graceful, elegant, and brilliant poet Dayārāma V. S. 1828 to V. S. 1900.

In closing this survey we cast a glance at the atmosphere which at different periods pervaded the course of literature, noticing the predominance of the sombre colors of *Bhakti* and *Vairāgya*, an occasional glint of heroic subjects, the rainbow tints of love-literature, and a very small tinge of the social conditions and problems which obsess us now.

We cast a hasty glance at Modern Gujarātī Literature and presented a vindication of modern poetry in view of some unjust adverse criticism.

Side by side we noticed the evolution of prosody in Gujarātī literature, its evolution in a way being a reflection of the evolution of literature upto now.

We may, by way of supplement and to secure completeness, cursorily view here our modern literature subsequent to Dayārāma's periods. This we may divide into two epochs.

A cursory view of Modern Literature.

- (a) Old type literature—from V. S. 1900 to V. S. 1940, i. e. the first four decades of the twentieth century of the Vikrama era,
- and (b) New type literature—from V. S. 1940 to V. S. 1970, i. e. the three recent decades of that century.

Both these types were the outcome of the contact of the East with the West, but while the Western influence in the case of the earlier period was partial and superficial, and thus the literature of the period still adhered to the old world traditions, that in the case of the later period was far-reaching and affected the outlook on life, society, and the world in a thorough manner, thus the literature of this period is instinct with a new life, new ideals and new modes.

Results of the contact between the West and the East, distinction in the effect between the earlier and the later types.

of outlook. Some outstanding features of the two epochs may be contrasted. The earlier epoch inaugurated prose literature, its language was simple and direct, its mode of spelling was natural and more or less true to the mode of pronunciation, an attempt to introduce a Sanskritized style was made in the latter part of the period, but it did not find many followers whereas the latter epoch indulged more wildly in poetry, introduced a style somewhat above the heads of the common people, discarded the natural system of spelling which was phonetically and philologically nearer the truth, and adopted a purely arbitrary, artificial and nonphonetic system of spelling and in style of language the element of Sanskrit was introduced not as in the early period, but necessitated by the nature of the subject and the force of ideas and ideals. This much for the language and style. As regards subject matter and nature of literature, the contrast between the two periods is equally marked. The older period responded to the call of its generation, wrote in a more or less homely style on subjects affecting the intellectual awakening of the people, attempting to remove superstitions among the masses, instructing in the rudiments of knowledge, and never aspiring to soar high in imagination or intellectual efforts. The later period was touched by the fire of Western poetry and the classical Sanskrit literature, and as a result works of imagination and fancy of a high order of merit and originality sprang into life to enrich our literature, while side by side with it a mass of inferior copyists' work swarmed in the field to the detriment of the authors and the literature they aspired to belong to. It must be recognized that new ideals, new life, new activities have come as forces and they must as they do, affect our literature, according to the lights and limitations of the workers in the field, the inferior and transitory stuff, no doubt, predominating, but not dominating our literature all the same.

Such is the picture of the past and the present. Shall we venture to prophesy the future? These pictures though drawn at some length, were necessary to be kept in view before us if a fairly correct forecast was to be made of the future. This can

*A forecast of the
future of our language
and literature*

be done only by noting the future tendencies visible in our times and this we may attempt to do as proposed for this lecture. The question that rises before us is—Will the past be reproduced or continued in any form or to any extent? The answer must be in the negative. As regards literature, the old order has changed giving place to new, and it is inherently impossible that events can march backwards. The very nature of progress is against it. New environments must create new types, and we can assert with confidence that our literature will no longer sing the old style songs of the *Bhakti* movement, with its inseparable erotic fusion, nor will a new *Sāmānā* arise to tell the romantic stories of love, intrigue, and adventure nor a *Prēmā nanda* shine in the heavens brightening them with literary *dīhyānas*, nor will the didactic poetry of the type of a host of minor poets of the last century or two preach the duties of man, or guide the daily life of the layman, asking him not to abuse his *guru*, not to spit in water, not to be eaves-dropping when two persons are talking confidentially and so forth. These times are past and gone, even religious poetry has assumed a new form, and it may assume still newer phases, but will not return to the old type.

Scientific, philosophical and historical literature as also to some extent biographical literature is still poor in our language. The dramatic section of pure literature is also meagre. These deficiencies will be supplied in the future, but there are not enough indications of this in the immediate or near future. Men devoted to original work are few and far between and the country is awaiting the advent of some master minds to unlock the closed doors of these branches of literature.

We have at present a plethora of poetic literature of all shades mostly unfit and therefore unlikely to live and fiction also similar in quality and merit. This will, it seems, eventually readjust itself when some masters rise in our midst but the inferior work will continue to attract a certain order of people and for them it will exist. Such stuff must be placed outside the pale of real literature.

Bangālī literature has during recent decades begun to influence

*Influence of
Bangālī literature.*

Gujarātī literature in so far as translations from the former are being produced in a comparatively large number. Here and there want of judgment is visible in the selection of the original, but as a rule the best has attracted the efforts in our midst. I may, however, be permitted to sound a note of warning now. The tendency to borrow from Bengal is on the increase at present and it is considered almost a fashionable thing to say that one knows Bangālī. But let us be on our guard, and let not this borrowing habit kill originality.

There are certain new forces and ideals at present trying to force their entrance into our literature and, if handled by powerful and skilful hands, they may add a new aspect to our literature. These are the ideals of social service and political aspirations. Hitherto we have not been favoured with masters who could by a mere touch turn these

*Certain new forces
and ideals influencing
our literature—
social service and
political aspira-
tions.*

ideals to artistically literary use. But the time may come for such men to enrich literature by work in this direction. And yet I make bold to state that so far as poetic literature is concerned—and in this phrase I include prose works of fiction and the like also—so far, I say, as this pure literature is concerned—the eternal ideals of life and death, human suffering and human feelings, must occupy a distinct and superior place in the

*Permanent ideals
of universal value
vs. narrow aspira-
tions.*

materials on which literature has to work, and viewing pure literature in this light, all ideals which restrict the human heart to individual nations, races, castes and the like, and their parochial aspirations, are sure to fall into a groove of narrowness of mind and heart and any attempt to place these above the permanent ideals of humanity at large, is calculated to stifle pure literature and as such must be viewed with disapprobation. Whether Gujarātī literature has in store such a lowering of its value it is difficult to say, but looking at the history of literature all over the world, I have no fears in this direction and

believe in the permanence and eventual domination of pure literature dealing with eternal ideals of humanity.

So much for literature. As regards language, let us for a moment glance at the present indications and facts. As stated in a previous Lecture,¹ there are three main territorial divisions where Gujarātī, as spoken now, receives some distinctive shades—(1) Kāthiavāda, (2) Gujarāt proper, and (3) the Surat tract (in which I include Surat and Broach Districts). I leave aside the minor divisions and distinctions of Gujarāt proper into Charotar, Pātana and Palanapura and the Ahmedabad tract.

Now, the spread of education on a uniform basis, the closer contact between Kāthiavāda, Gujarāt proper, and Surat since the increase of Railway communications, the migrations and travels of people of the cultured classes from one part to another,—all these factors working for interprovincial unification have told and will tell on the linguistic side of the peoples' life. Just call to mind the sharply distinguishing local peculiarities in language which marked the three main divisions, take Surat first—

(1) ઇ, કરીય, કરસો etc. were spoken, and even sometimes in former times written in books, as ઇ, કરીય કરસો &c., no cultured Surati will use this *Surati peculiarities* now, certainly not in literary writing, and even in spoken language it is fast disappearing, if not altogether discarded, so far as the cultured classes are concerned.

The same remark applies more or less to the following peculiarities,

(2) આપ્પો, છપ્પ, etc. in Surati for આપ્પો, છપ્પ &c. in main Gujarātī. This instance of *અપર્યપ* (metathesis, i. e. interchange of letters) is now looked upon as uncultured and unfit for classical writing and cultured speech.

1. See Lecture II, P. 65 and note

(3) आवते, करते, etc for आवत, करत &c in the conditional forms of verbs known as *विधातिपत्ति* in grammatical technology,

(4) लाखुं for नांखुं,

(5) कातेर, तासेक, etc for कातर, तासक &c,

(6) माटीडो (= a male),

(7) पोरयो, पोरी (= a boy, a girl), (allied to Marāṭhī पोरगा, पोरगी through Khāndeshī and Bhīl tongues). Now note a few Kathiāvādī peculiarities in words, forms etc

Kāthiāvādī peculiarities. (1) का=केम (Guj proper), What? How? e.g. का लाभकर! केळां लाडु जमयो!

(2) ओत्पुं=पेलु (Guj proper),

(3) हालो=चालो (Guj proper), हालुं in Guj. proper means- "to shake, to move"

(4) हाडं=वस (Guj proper), Enough! (as an indeclinable),

(5) मां (prohibitive particle) as in आवीस मा when Guj proper would be आवीस नहिं,

(Note -In Gujarāt proper मा is used in the language of poetry),

(6) प as a भावनाचर termination (to form abstract nouns), Guj proper has पण or पथु,

e.g. ओउप, Guj. proper ओउपथुं

बहाल, ,, बहाल (बहालपथुं is hardly idiomatic),

म्होउप, ,, म्होउपण, म्होउपथुं etc etc

(Note-Si. Hem. VIII-iv-437 gives प्पण as an *śloka* in Apabhramśa for त्व or ता (Sk.). alternatively with तण Dr Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar derives प्प (Apabhramśa²) from त्व and प्पण from त्वन (See his Philological Lectures p 194).

This त्वन is a Vedic termination, e.g. कवित्वन wisdom, जनिव्वन wife-hood पतिव्वन the state of a husband, वृषव्वन manliness, मर्यव्वन, महित्वन, वसुव्वन, सपित्वन, and the like

Thus while Gujarāt proper has taken पण, पथुं from the Vedic

स्वन³ (through Apabhramśa पपण) Kāthiāvādī has taken प from the classical Sanskrit स्व through प (Apabhramśa).

Only in some cases Gujarātī has प, but only as पो (Masc.), e.g. अंपापो, रंदापो, पपदापो, शुद्धपो (from Hindi), in the third of these words the sense in addition to abstraction is deprecatory, पपदापो meaning-acting and talking as if one was old, though young, पपण meaning simply 'old age')

(7) मर=छो (Guj. proper), Let (as in "Let him go," मर ने जाय= छो ने जाय (Guj. proper)

[Note—मछे is also used in Kāthiāvādī and rarely in Gujarātī proper, being more polite in its intrinsic sense (मछुं=good, मछे locativo-used as an indeclinable) than मर which is an indeclinable formed from the imperative 2nd person singular of मर (मरयुं)=to die.

The turning of an imperative form of a verb into an indeclinable is also seen in जो=लो ! (which also is due to a similar process in English), जो here being used as a mere particle. It further travels into the regions of mere पादपूरक words possessing no meaning (like रे, छोट etc.) in poetry e.g. आसो मासो शरद पुन्यमनी राख जो.

This formation from the imperative form of a verb curiously harmonizes with the formation of छो, only it is from the 3rd person singular of the theoretical root छ्.—अस्तु (Skr), छठ= possible form="let it be"]

This मर must have been observed as a prominent Kāthiāvādī feature which gave rise to the following lines evidently composed by some Gujarātī in words peculiar to Kāthiāvādī language—

मरमर करीं वातुं करे, मरमर करे ओंघार ।
पावटरे पाणी मेरे सोरठ करी नार ॥

(The Soratha woman says 'मर' every now and then in her talk, makes pickles of मरमर (a vegetable root especially used in Kāthiāvādī—

3. Only in शरावन, शरई and one or two other words प and the रय (changed to रज) not changed to पज but रज through रज.

vāda for pickling) and draws water from wells with her feet (referring to wells with Persian wheels⁴ turned by the feet).

- (8) ऊ as the plural termination of feminine nouns—ending in ई and अ e. g. गाई, भई, घोड़ी, &c., वानू (as in the verse cited above under (7), or as in ऊँचो गढ गिरनार वाइळी⁵ वानू करे ।

- (9) माथे=उपर, above. A man from Guj. proper would understand माथे as माथा उपर, 'on the head.' मेढा माथे मींदडो चढयो = 'a cat has climbed up the upper storey.'

“कां ! आज न्यातमां छं जम्या ?”—“ढाडू अने माथे दुप.”

This means “ढाडू-(sweet balls) and on the top of it (by the side of it) milk,”—not—“ढाडू in the diners' mouths and milk (poured) on their heads.”

- (10) टायुं in expressions like आ टाणे=“at this time,” हं टाणे=“at that time.”

In Guj. proper टायु has a special sense—a festive or ceremonial occasion.

(टायु is a further evolution of टांकणु (क being elided) = a coinciding occasion, टंकन (Skr)

- (11) मूक्युं, जायुं, घायो, &c. for मूकीयुं, जाइयुं, घयो, जयो, &c. in Guj. proper

- (12) ग्यो, ग्यो for घयो, गयो

- (13) मींदडी=विलाडी, 'a cat'.

The word is most probably derived from विलाडी, व and म being changed to ळ and न respectively, मीनडी, the intervocalic न being then changed to nasalized ळ, as in पांढु from पनढ-पण्णढ (Apabhramśa); पर्णटकम् (Skr), वींदरी from वाणरड-वानरवः and the like.

- (14) गढ=गालि molasses, the ळ in गुर (Skr) being changed to अ under the general rule, and not to आ under the exceptional rule.

4. Bucket-wheels, *noriahs* used in Spain, Syria and Palestine generally worked by animal power.

(15) ग्दोरेतं=ग्दोरां, (वहील) elders.

(16) ई=आ this.

(17) ओ=that.

(18) यो=there.

(19) दी=दिवस=a day.

[The resemblance between दी and day (English) is striking and throws a long flash of light over many centuries past, when Sanskrit and its sister language of the Western Aryans sprang from a common source. दी is clearly from दीह-दिभद-दिवस (Skr.) from दि॒ (to shine). 'Day' may be similarly traced to दि॒, but I find the Century Dictionary traces it to द॒ (१ द॒) द॒ह=to burn. This is not to be rejected quite summarily, as the AS *daez*, plur. *dagas*. O. S. *dag*, Goth *daga* a day,—have a *g* (ग) in them, which is more akin to the द in द॒ than to the द in दि॒].

(20) हाद करे—(साद करे) } = बोलाये—(bo) calls;
(21) बरके }

(22) ओरो = आ तरफ; वास्ते; this way; hither; near.

[This word is, however, found used in Gujarāṭa proper in poetry, upto Dayārāma's time, frequently by Dayārāma—

(a) ओरो भाग्य नी सटणा प्रभु घामळा जो.

(p. 165, *para* i 3, दयारामहृत वज्रपसंमद
"Gujarāṭi" Press edition).

(b) भाग्य ओहोरा अटवेलहा एक वात कट्टे दू छानी रे.

(P. 204, *para* 77 Do)

(c) ओहोरा भागो नी ऊंचु भाळोनी रंगीला रहमाता.

(P. 207, *para* 94 Do)

Brahmānanda has

(d) ओरा ओरा भागोने रे के मोहन मरमाळा.

(This last may be a pure Kāṭhīyāḍīism as Kāṭhīyāḍī was his land of adoption).

I need not multiply instances. I recognise that out of the above instances, some may be local even inside the peninsula of Kāthiāvāḍa, i. e. peculiar to Hālāra or Soratha, or Zālāvāḍa, or Gohilvāḍa, and so forth. I also concede that several of these words are studiously eschewed in cultured language and literature. None the less these mark out the province, and till recent times distinctly marked it out from Gujarāṭa proper. I have dwelt at greater length on Kāthiāvāḍī peculiarities than on Surati ones for obvious reasons. The Western peninsula till a few decades ago was cut off from Gujarāṭa proper and its individual features were strongly developed and in a great many forms, whereas Surat, besides being much smaller in area than Kāthiāvāḍa, though somewhat detached from Gujarāṭa proper, was less so and came earlier in contact with it and its individual features were fewer, and confined to the uncultured classes more than was the case in Kāthiāvāḍa. As noted above, distance and detachment are annihilated now with the advent of railways and telegraph and interprovincial intermingling has brought in a new state of things. Kāthiāvāḍa is sending out in large numbers students into Gujarāṭa proper and migrations of the cultured classes are a noteworthy feature. All this intercommunication is a potent unifying factor, as also the silent acceptance of a more or less common literary standard of language, as a result of the first factor. The Suratis have long given up the *ṣ* sound when *ś* is the recognized *śiṣṭa* one, in literature and even in every day speech. Kāthiāvāḍis are also steadily getting over their angularities in linguistic features visibly in written literature, imperceptibly and a little slowly in spoken language. As an indication of this I may mention a recent incident. The word *पोरी* was, and even now is, pronounced with a broad *ओ* in *पो* thus—*वरी*, I have known this from personal contact with several Kāthiāvāḍis of different sub-provinces (They pronounced *पोट* also with a broad *ओ* e. g. *ए मा भाव्यो तो पोटपो*.) When I questioned some young Kāthiāvāḍī friends as to this broad sound in *पोरी*, some said "No, we always pronounce it with the narrow *ओ*—*पोरी*. Some Kāthi or Gohilvāḍis may be sounding it broad, we Hālāis don't"; while others themselves Hālāis, admitted that they

sounded the broad ओ in पोरो. The reason is clear. Peculiarities of this kind are fast disappearing in cultured language,—thanks, amongst the forces noted above, to the fact that the education of Kāthiāvādi was under the guidance of teachers from Gujarāta proper for a number of years and young men, who were not born when this broad sound was all-prevalent, or whose observation is not keen and who live in the new atmosphere of unification, naturally believe that the sound did not and does not exist in their land. Another little fact may be noted; the peculiar Kāthiāvādi accentuation of words—not like the Vedic, nor like the English accent or the Hindi accent, but a sort of cross between accent and emphasis, distinguished the people of the peninsula. Where a resident of Gujarāta would say in a colorless way—ए तो यवातु नधी the Kāthiāvādi said इ तो पावातु नधी.

This accentuation has slowly and steadily been disappearing and the young Kāthiāvādīs now sojourning in Gujarāta and Bombay talk as if they were never to the manner born.

I have hitherto dwelt on one side of the unifying process,—the shedding off of the Kāthiāvādi features. Of the other side, Gujarāti proper taking to itself Kāthiāvādi peculiarities there is not much to be said; obviously it is a question of casting off of local peculiarities and some how or other Gujarāta proper is regarded as the centre of the standard language, and it has no angular features to cast off. However, I must note one or two features which Gujarāti proper has transferred to itself, is transferring to itself, from the language of Kāthiāvāda.

- (1) One is the word "का" which has been, and is still, in use in the language of poetry in Gujarāta proper. In quoting from myself I do not expect to be accused of egotism, as it is rather a case of admission which will carry special force. I just now think of a line in my *Kuruma-mūlā* —

अरे ! कां भूले तुं ! वदिन निरुद्धे ए भूमि परी.

(P. 46, l. 9)

Besides, along with this admission I imply that this use was the result of a similar use by other writers of poetry ancient and modern

- (2) **હજીને** in the sense of **હજીવે**=owing to, in consequence of, -e.g.
અનેક કારણોને હજીને જગતમાં હુ ધ્રુવી ઇત્પતિ અને સ્થાન છે.

This use is of a comparatively recent date. I believe this word did not occur in this sense in Gujarāṭī proper before 1900 V. S. or thereabouts. I might venture to say, it is hardly twenty years old. Someone brought it from Kathiāwāḍa and used it and others followed suit. It has not quite gained a recognised place in current literature yet, writers of note do use it, and I have no quarrel with them. Personally, I am not in love with it, and I have my reasons, prejudice has no part in it. But if in course of time it receives the stamp and hall mark of cultured use, I shall not if I live so long, go into mourning. Many an underserving word has risen into rank before and this may do so in future.

I have on set purpose taken no note of subsections like Charotara and Patana in this review of present conditions.

Subsections like Charotara and Pātana purposely excluded

For sounds and forms like ગમિ, કમિ, હું કરજું, હું જાઉં, હું વરડું, peculiar to Charotara for ગામ, વામ, હું વરેછે, હું જાયછે, હું કરેછે, or ફળ etc. in Pātana for વર્ણ &c. are hardly to be considered

in this discussion where cultured language, and local peculiarities of a certain standard are being dealt with.

Having noted the present progress from the near past as above, we can venture to forecast that the unifying process noticed above is bound to make further advance and bring together the three sections of Gujarāṭī—Kāthiāwāḍī, Surāt, and Gujarāṭī proper, into a close unity in the matter of a standard literary and cultured language.

By the side of these sectional languages and the future outlook

Pārsī Gujarāṭī

regarding them, a consideration of Pārsī Gujarāṭī, as the name goes, may not be out of place

But there is a certain manifest distinction in the relative conditions. While Kāthiavādī and Surātī are divisions of language which are none-the-less essentially related to the main standard language, Parsi Gujarātī, owing to various reasons, is an isolated factor whose relation with the standard language is peculiarly external. I shall not enter upon any elaborate discussion of this subject, but only take into account the broad features which divide Parsi Gujarātī from the Standard Gujarātī.

These can be summed up under five heads —

- (1) Prevalence of words taken from Persian and too often a murder of such words,
- (2) A horror of ordinary Sanskrit words
- (3) If Sanskrit words are used, a misuse of them, or their murder,
(Under this head will come the unsuitable juxtaposition of Persian and Sanskrit words)
- (4) A large influx of words and grammatical forms taken from the rural speech of the Surat District,
- and (5) A disregard of Gujarātī idiom, especially in translating English phrases and ideas

I will not detain you with illustrations, copiously though they could be given. This is not the place for doing it. Only a few samples may be given —

Under head (1)

उप्योग for उपयोग, रमय्य for रमणीय, उरयति for वसति (formed as a curious cross between उष्य and वसति), द्विय for द्वितीय, गृय्यारुण for गृह्यारुण, गृदा for भूदा and used in a wrong sense as प्रसूनी गृदा, meaning भक्ति)

The following linguistic monstrosities from well-established journals will present a striking picture —

- (1) વિશ્વાસ (for વિશ્વાસ) 'સ'તિ-લેખ', May 1893

p. 91. col 1, 1

- (2) दरिद्रिता (for दरिद्रता) Do. p. 96, col. 2, l. 22.
 (3) ततस्थ (for तदस्थ)
 and used in a wrong sense
 for स्तब्ध, स्थिर, ततस्थ ऊभा, Do. p. 97, col. 2, l. 34.
 (4) दीघमूढ (for दिग्मूढ
 दिग्मूढ) Do. p. 112, col. 1, l. 20.
 (5) अंगीकार (for स्वीकार-
 admission,) Do. p. 114, l. 5 from bottom.
 (6) अघटि (for अघटित), Do. p. 115, col. 2, l. 22.
 (7) सत्ताव्याधी (for सताव्याधी), Do. p. 117, col. 1, l. 22.

These are picked up from a host of similar atrocities, due to ignorance, false ambition and the like.

I cull two instances from a Parsi writer in "*Visami Sad*", September 1916

(1) भिनारावाला दिवसो for 'wet days', p. 450, col. 1.

(2) ते एक नाजूक बांधानी खूबसरती इती (where the word 'beauty' is translated literally), p. 451, col. 1

These instances fall under head (5).

In a wall advertisement along the Queen's Road (Bombay) in 1920 A. D. I read the following —

"सीनेमानी चरती पदवी" (for चरती पदवी), here the dental द and cerebral ट are curiously interchanged.

Under (4) may be noted words like कानी and पसे (both for पेडे-like,) &c.. घेर for पर will also fall under this class. In proper Gujarāṭī घेर in locative of पर, the Parsis have घरे in the locative, or घेरे. This last form may be traced thus परयइ (गृहक+इ loc termin), then घयरइ by metathesis, घेरे. The pure Guj. loc. घेर is a curious case of metathesis from घेरे

Under head (5) I may note the following —

- (1) "On the one hand" and "on the other"—English idiom literally rendered as एक हाथ पर and बीजा हाथ पर, which

offends the idiom-sense of a Gujarātī, who would use **एक पक्ष** and **बहिः पक्षे** to convey the idea in idiomatic Gujarātī,

- (3) "How are you?" is rendered by Parsis by 'कैम छौ' literally, whereas the correct idiom is 'कैम छे' (literally—"how is it (with you)?")
- (4) "A golden opportunity" is rendered by "छनेरी तक" Correct Gujarātī for it would be **मनाना मूलनी तर**, **छनेरी** only means "gold-colored," or "gilt with gold"
- (5) "The wind blows"—is rendered as **परन पूकळे**, the correct rendering is **परन वापळे**

Even Hindu writers are infected by these non-Gujarātī forms of expression, the reason being a desire for light-hearted imitation and want of sturdiness of linguistic conscience, which makes men forget that words and expressions have an atmosphere and associations of their own which can not be shaken off by the use of substitutes and equivalents which are not equivalents. Consequently **मातर भाषा** or "mother-tongue" will drop all its value by coining the Gujarātī expression **माती जीव**.

I must recognise the very laudable efforts of writers like the late B. M. Malabāri, Mr. A. F. Khabardār, *Exceptional Parsi authors writing classical Gujarātī* Mr. P. K. Tārāporerāi and others whose writings are marked by a comparative purity of their Gujarātī hardly tinged with Pārsi Gujarātī traits. But they are in a marked minority, the bulk of Pārsi writers not being with them in act or heart. However, the Pārsi community has furnished exceptions in the shape of Sanskrit scholars like the late Ervad Sheriarjī Bharuchā of the old school and scholars of the modern type like Prof. Irach S. Tārāporerāi, Mr. S. K. Hodarāi, Mr. G. K. Narimān and Mr. J. L. Sanjīnā. It is also to be noted that at present a study of Sanskrit is quietly encouraged in a limited circle of Pārsi scholars. I also note that a desire has sprung up on the part of certain Pārsi writers to discard the defects of Pārsi Gujarātī as much as possible and also that during the last twenty years the language in Pārsi writings, even in newspapers, discloses

attempts to advance, how so much faintly, towards the classical Gujarātī type. But all the same they are greatly handicapped for want of identification with Gujarātī life and thought, which alone can give them the power to appreciate the value of associations which cling about words and phrases—which are an influencing factor in the origin of idiom.

I have not yet mentioned a special feature in Pārsī Gujarātī. It comes as a result of two combined tendencies (1) a tendency to counteract the Pārsīs aversion to conjunct consonants, and (2) a tendency to imitate wrongly the conjunct consonant—in certain grammatical forms which the Pārsī presents by breaking up the conjunct in the form of a *vara-bhāṭī*. Thus, where Hindu Gujarātī has आव्यो, बोल्यो, Pārsī Gujarātī has आवियो, बोलियो. (These latter formations, nearer to the Apabhramśa state in past participles are even now admitted in Hindu Gujarātī verse, as reminiscences of the Apabhramśa stage, but are tabooed in present day prose.) With a desire to adopt the correct type, the Pārsī writer misapplies the idiom and says कर्ये, आप्ये, for करिये, भाषिये. Thus, in a leading Pārsī paper of 28th January 1916 I find

(1) શ્રેષ્ઠ દાશમાઈ નવરોજનીના સદ્ગુણોની શું તારીફ કર્યે ?

(2), તેનો સંક્ષેપ તાર આપ્યે.

Looking to the language of the more permanent literature of the Pārsīs, it is still far, far, removed from classical Gujarātī, and the want of some unifying influence will continue to be so persistent that the prospects of a closer approach between classical Gujarātī and Pārsī Gujarātī in the near future are unhappily not very bright. I say this in no spirit of discouragement. It is my duty and business simply to note existing conditions and facts and base my forecast thereon. A good deal will depend upon well-directed and systematic efforts on the part of the Pārsīs themselves, much as they may blame the Hindu writers for writing Sanskritized Gujarātī. Some of my Pārsī friends are ready to accept the language of *Karana Ghelo* as a standard. If they only try to follow that standard the gulf between Pārsī and Hindu Gujarātī will be practically bridged.

¹ I would add Navalarāma's name. If they study *Navalagranthāra* and keep that as a model they will find their task as easy as in the case of *Karana Ghelo*.

Even if the charge of writing Sanskritized Gujarātī levelled against Hindu writers be partly well-deserved, it is not the stock of words but the constitution of language and structure of grammatical forms, as also the intellectual attitude towards rendering of idioms, in short the essence and not the accidents of language, that constitute the difficulty. It was this fundamental divergence between Hindu and Parsi Gujarātī which many years ago led the late Kavi Dalapatarāma to write the following trenchant lines against Parsi Gujarātī:

चौदमां इंदाणी महाराणी गुजराती वाणी,
इंदी अलंकार, इंदी बीपी इन्देगारची,
पगेचे चडाव्युं ते तो पाळतां मुंबेमां पद,
पढी त्यां तपासतां तो पचवाया पारसी.

(*Dalapata Kāvya*, I, p. 180)

Dalapatarāma was a writer who could not have been accused of highly Sanskritized style.

This discussion suggests the rather thorny question of Sanskritized Gujarātī versus simple Gujarātī. We may leave the digression into Parsi Gujarātī now, and come to the merits and prospects of this feature in Gujarātī of the present day. The history of this style of writing is not old. The old poets did occasionally indulge in a free use of *talavna* words. But the words they used had the stamp of long usage and familiarity, and theirs was not a style encumbered with a heavy load of even with *talavna* words. It was only during the period about 1870 A. D. that isolated efforts gave rise to a new style of Sanskritized Gujarātī, which was different in its nature, in that it coined Sanskrit words and phrases of an unfamiliar stamp. I pass over half-educated attempts at Sanskritization like the monstrous hybrid *एपारसमय* found in a writing of a so called Śāstrī in a newspaper article. (See the Gaja-

Sanskritized Gujarātī: its merits and prospects

rāṭī "of 20th June 1915, p. 1084, col 2, l. 10 from the bottom) Later on it developed a new phase and adjectives and past participles from their *tatsama* stock were used with Sanskrit affixes colouring the feminine gender or masculine plural number in an unnatural manner. For instance,

- (1) રત્નાકર સંસ્કૃતસમા એક જ છાનીમાંથી આવેલા x x શબ્દો
વપરાઈ એકતા વર્ધમાના થયો.

(*Sāthī-nū sāhitya-nū dīgdarśana* " p 42.)

- (2) ગુજરાતીની જે મોટી સહોદરા भाषाओ-हिंदी तथा मराठी-ना प्रथो
वाल्दोष लिपिमां छद्रापिता थाय छे x x x गुजरातीनी प्रायः
समानाकारा अने शास्त्रीया एवी वाल्दोष लिपि,.....

(*Ibid*, p. 166)

This was named by the advocates of the style प्रत्ययान्तरा शैली I believe what this clumsy word was intended to convey was that the only difference between Gujarātī and Sanskrit would be that the Gujarātī case terminations for nouns and conjugal terminations for verbs were to be preserved in use to mark out Gujarātī from Sanskrit. This is borne out by the following sentence which comes immediately after the one in instance (1) given just above—

एम थये विमजिना रूपना अने घातुना रूपना प्रत्ययोमानं मात्र भेद रह्ये.

In the very nature of things such a style carried with it its own condemnation and doom. This style has been caricatured by Ramanabhūi M. Nilakantha in his master-piece of satirical work, *Bhadrambhadrā*. The style has not caught, and there is no occasion for predicting its future for it is an isolated flame which will soon burn itself out.

But another kind of San·kritized style has come into existence since 1880 A. D. or thereabouts,—which promises to keep its hold on literary Gujarātī. It discards the artificial elements of the last-named style, and draws upon Sanskrit vocabulary for words already bearing the stamp of use, and also for words to be utilized in coining suitable new expressions necessary for the embodiment of new ideas and ideals brought into our life and activity by the contact with Western civilization. This style is thus not an artificial engraftment

on the language, but a natural growth and this itself would furnish a sufficient answer to the objections to the style which are advanced by certain European Missionaries and scholars. I recognize that even in this style there is a latent danger or overburdening the language with Sanskrit words of an unfamiliar nature and clumsy in their expressiveness or sense-potency, in fact a danger of reverting to the artificial style started in the early seventies of the nineteenth century A. D. But, if I read the signs of the times aright, a reaction against this phase is secretly forming and gathering strength and the danger will soon disappear. All the same, this much can be safely said by way of a forecast in this matter that the future will see a larger use of *tatsama* words in our language, i. e. the language of written works, and occasionally the language of cultured conversation, but not in a manner unnatural or pedantic. If any forceful individuality unexpectedly arises as an uncalculated power and creates a new style and carries the majority with itself, we can not take such an accident into account. But such apparent accidents are bound to be really the outcome of the surrounding conditions. However, we need not trouble ourselves with distant and imaginary possibilities.

This is the forecast I venture to make as a whole. It deals entirely with the vocabulary aspect of the Gujarati language, and totally leaves apart the phonological or morphological side. For, as far as I can foresee, no further changes in this direction seem likely to take place. Inter-verbial changes are now final, the evolution from *घोटक घोटड-घोरो* is completed, or from *बरोति-बरोइ-बरो* into *बरे* (ઉ). The phonetic forces have apparently finished their activity. Terminations also have crystallized themselves into a finished shape. The oscillations of analytical and synthetic formations too, are not likely to come into play any more—unless it be in a future, far, far, away.

This forecast does not imply a violation of the principle of progressive evolution, the progress whereof we noted in our survey of the language covering the past nine centuries. For, evolution has a goal after all. The human form is full-grown.

Future morphological word-changes not probable

The principle of progressive evolution is not violated

type of the mango tree, the different forms of animals that have assumed a definite shape,—all these have attained a finished form, and it would be unnecessary to expect further changes, the type is formed and finished. New environments and new forces may come—we do not know what will happen then, for we do not know what those forces and environments will be. New racial mixtures may affect the morphology of our language. But we can not take into account unknown conditions. We can judge the possibilities only on the strength of the known or knowable conditions, and thus we have attempted to do. We can, however, state with some confidence that the outlook of our political history is against any new racial admixture in the possible future. As I said in a previous lecture, the principle that history repeats itself means only this that given a certain set of conditions and causes, certain effects will necessarily follow. In the case of our forecast about the Gujarati language there is no occasion, so far as our vision can penetrate into the future, for a repetition of the causes which gave rise to phonetic decay and morphological changes.

My labours are for the present concluded, and in concluding this series of lectures here, may I strike a personal note? The uppermost feeling in me today is one of gratefulness to you all for the very patient and courteous manner in which you have listened to a necessarily dry treatment of a dry subject. If you have found anything interesting in it, it must be due entirely to the interest you take in the subject. I am myself conscious of many shortcomings in these Lectures, due to my own limitations which I am ready to recognise, and to unforeseen circumstances which handicapped me in my work. The time at my disposal for preparing these Lectures was very short and in consequence I could not collect and study sufficient materials or compress my remarks artistically. But for the possession of my notes taken and preserved for another work, and my self-imposed study of the subject for the last thirty years, I would not have ventured to undertake this unequal task. You must have thus noticed several signs of hurried special preparation, defects due to a limited choice of field of inquiry, and a certain incom-

pleteness in the whole * All I can ask is that you will take the good with the bad, reject the latter and accept the former I only hope that others will be stimulated and feel inspired to take up the work left by me and pursue the labours in this interesting field of research and throw fresh light on the subject That will be my best reward

I cannot sit down without sincerely thanking merciful Providence which has enabled me to carry this series of Lectures through to its conclusion

IT\IS

*This incompleteness has, to some extent, been remedied in preparing these lectures for the Press by numerous additions, recasting and revision

ADDENDA

Page

33 At the end of para before (n)—

Add:

(1) *Śīlavatī-Rāsa* (V. S. 1700) 11

(1) माचे, derivable from मत,

(2) } माच्यो in two places

(3) }

This furnishes an additional piece of evidence.

दुःख मंदिरमा माचे III-ix-9.

(h) प्राप्ति is used in the sense of पृथि (=पृथिवी), as, for example, in देनामा कांइ प्राप्ति (or पृथि) नथी. This will incidentally support the derivation of पृथि from प्राप्.

186 At the end (after VIII. (g)), add:

(h) धरय पूजं तु धृज पर हेज

(Dhīro; *Ścarūpa, Mana-ścarūpa* VI-5)

(k) सही जाणजो माटा सरयुं को नहिं भाणे हेज

(Bhāṣya: *Dafoma-śhandha, pāṭa* 241, l. 4. quoted at p. 112 of Rāmalāl C. Modī's *Essay on Bhāṣya*).

(l) हेज परी नारी तदा रे अवलंबित प्रिय नेट

(Śīlavatī-no-Rāsa, v. s. 1700, IV-i-17).

(m) निरघे नेह धरी लोचने रे, ग्हाला हेजजुं नरो सप रे

(Ibid. VI-ix-14).

[Note: हेज is used occasionally in the sense of हारं (हृष turning its sense to हारं), e. g.

जे वहे पोनामा ठे सेज, ते अंतरहं न लहे हेज

(Akho: *Chitta-ricchra-Sarvada*; 96).

165 After instance giving लीकिक यहा—add:

बनील अघरि धिको रंवर घंघर मान

(Vimala-Prabhartha, *Chalid*, st. 165)

- 221 Delete the words in the midst of my weeping, and Substitute and whence came the tears ?
- 311 After l. 3 add
 (e) के तूटे के अदे न आण्य (Akho Chhappâ, 261)
 (f) के आळसे के कोष धयो (*Ibid*, „ 665)
- 312 Under p 178 strike off सहेजसाज from class (a) and put it under class (c), as सहेज as well as साज are both from सहज (repeated variants).
- 313 15 After (7) etc add
 Also Akho. Chhappâ, (a) 206 क्यां थां कर्म; (b) 226, गोविंद था टको; (c) 262, क्यां थो अवसर; (d) 357 भद्रकर्म बेश्यां जाय; (e) 397, सो मोळपण थो आपो घ बश्यो; (f) 414 पण कोण कियांथो अलगो पश्यो.
- 313 At the end add
 This idiom must be prevalent in Premananda's time, for Śīlavatī-no-Rāsa (v. s. 1700) has सती निद्राने राय (where निद्राने=निद्राने माटे) IV-v-7.
- 313 After instances (6) under p. 185 add
 (7) कि उंइ कि पदशि मीळ (*Vimla-Prabandha*, V, 22)
 (8) कि विषवा कि दाशि कि सारिदिणी दु.छणी (*Ibid*, V, 19)
- 339 After l 10 add
 (5) "Members of a family" is rendered by कुटुम्बना सभासदो mixing up the sense with members of a society and the like where सभासदो would be appropriate,—"sitting in a meeting"

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156	15	षट्दे	बट्दे
157	4	डिपुमि	कडिपुमि
159	(4), l 2	preceeding	preceding
"	n 11, l 1	Philologic	Philological
184	Supplement, l 3	as an instance	as instances
185	II l 3	118	128
191	n 10, l 2	Vol	Col
215	13	no	ino
217	11	a	as
218	7	princes	princess
220		<i>In Specimen (2)</i>	

1 1	read	एणी विरी	for	णए विरि
1. 3	"	वाणि	"	वानी
1 6	"	एकावली	,	एक वावली
"	"	षट्	"	फट्
1 9	"	जीराट्	"	जीराट्
1 10	"	गादि	"	गारि
1. 11	"	रुद्रे	"	रुद्रेनि
1 12	"	विदिद्वयी	"	विदी विदी द्वयी

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
221	12	lord	friend
"	13	my friend	my lord
223	17	Praching	Parching
234	9	Myriadful	Myriadfold
240	st. 15, l 1	घाय	पाय
"	st. 16, l 1	आकार	आकारे
"	last line	वया	वयो
242	n. 52, l 3 from		

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
253	2	elations	relations
253	specimen (3)		
	st 3 l 2	पावैन	पावैने
264	4th from the bottom	धूपरा	धूपरा
265	last in the text	a song	the song
269	n, 6th from		
	the bottom	of	of the
		3	
2-6	3 and 4	(or आयाँ) in the each दल,	(or of आयाँ in the first दल)
310	5 from the bottom	मजलि	जमलि
320	5 from the bottom	नद्ध	नद
321	para 2, l 7	साद, पाइ	सादं, पाइ
"	para 3, l. 1	<i>ladbhāra</i>	<i>ladbhāra</i>
322	10	marutha	Marūtha
"	20	अरषंउं	अरषं
323	7	दाहिण	दाहिण,
"	13	परंस्य	परंस्य
325	3	1823	1833
"	4	1900	1903
331	4	Hindi	Hindī, बुझा
331	n. 3. l 1	र तन	पुरपातन
334	8 from the bottom	pronounced	pronounced there
"	5 from the bottom	पोळपो	पोळपो
336	6	thurs	thus
337	5 from the bottom	meaning	(meaning)
339	9	पूवउं	पूवउं